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ABŪ ḤAIYĀN AL-TAWḤĪDĪ ON PENMANSHIP*

BY FRANZ ROSENTHAL

THE WORK OF ABŪ ḤAIYĀN AL-TAWḤĪDĪ (d. after 1009–10) is as yet comparatively little known. There can, however, be no doubt that al-Tawḥīdī is one of the foremost representatives of Arabic prose literature. His style, though at times heavy and overloaded, bristles with sparkling phrases. Al-Tawḥīdī appears to have been dominated by a rare desire to achieve intellectual independence, and the ideas he put on paper are the result of much searching meditation.

The little treatise on calligraphy which is here published deserves special attention on account of the fact that it claims al-Tawḥīdī as its author. The question of the genuineness of this claim, therefore, is one of major concern to us. There appears to be no bibliographical reference to the existence of a treatise on penmanship by al-Tawḥīdī. Moreover, in the introduction of the present work, mention is made of a certain Yāḳūt who can be no other than Yāḳūt al-Musta'ṣimī, the famous calligrapher of the thirteenth century.[1] There is, however, an erasure in the manuscript, and the name of Yāḳūt seems to be a later addition, although the original reading of the passage remains to be ascertained.

On the other hand, some observations in favor of al-Tawḥīdī's authorship suggest themselves. Language and style are those of al-Tawḥīdī. The manner in which reference is made to his teacher, Abū Sulaimān al-Siǧistānī,[2] is characteristic of his writings. The predilection for sayings of a philosophical character, displayed in the treatise, also is in keeping with the assumption of al-Tawḥīdī's authorship. Finally, it may be pointed out that, as far as it was possible to check them, none of the numerous references to contemporaries of al-Tawḥīdī and the older authorities quoted by him would militate against the assumption of his authorship (with the sole exception of the reference to Yāḳūt, mentioned above).

There is, consequently, no sufficient reason to reject the manuscript's attribution of the treatise to al-Tawḥīdī. However, it cannot be denied that some more positive evidence in favor of his authorship would be welcome. If, for instance, a confirmation of the statement on the different styles of writing which appears in the introduction of the treatise could be found elsewhere, it would go far to silence any remaining doubts. There always remains a remote possibility that the present text was compiled from excerpts of other works by al-Tawḥīdī.

The treatise consists of two parts. The first part (pp. 4–10) is restricted to the statements on calligraphy which the author professes to have learned from prominent men of his time. These statements as a rule deal with the technical aspects of the art of penmanship. The second part (pp. 10–20) contains a collection of the choicest remarks of various authors concerning the aesthetic aspects of calligraphy and the practical importance of writing, although technical sayings, too, are not entirely absent.

Arabic writers on the subject of calligraphy provide many parallel passages, especially for the second part. There are, however, few exact parallels. Certain changes of, and additions to, what seems to have been the original saying are frequently encountered. These are minor differences, but according to Arabic literary standards such differences profoundly influence the aesthetic value of the sayings in question.

* For the text editions referred to in this paper, cf. pp. 29-30.

[1] Four calligraphers by the name of Yāḳūt are mentioned by Tāshk., I, 57 f. All of them are said to have flourished at a time much later than that of al-Tawḥīdī.

[2] See below saying No. 9.

There exists a close connection between the treatise and the works of certain other authors who lived either before or after al-Tawḥīdī's time. Thus, the sayings attributed to the ancient Greeks (Nos. 56 ff.) are also in Ḥunain.[3] It is possible that Ḥunain was the direct source of al-Tawḥīdī. The matter probably is much more complicated, however, for there also seems to exist some connection between the treatise and Abū Sulaimān's *Ṣiwān*.[4] Since Abū Sulaimān appears to be independent of Ḥunain, the assumption of a common source for both Ḥunain and the *Ṣiwān* might be justified.

Al-Ṣūlī contains much related material. Nothing, however, suggests a direct relationship between al-Tawḥīdī and al-Ṣūlī, except the fact that the sayings Nos. 28–30, 35–36, and 44–45, are in al-Ṣūlī in the same sequence in which they appear in al-Tawḥīdī. A similar observation can be made with regard to *'Iḳd*, II, 156 ff., in which the sayings Nos. 28, 29, 32 (as well as 69 and 71) follow upon each other as they do in al-Tawḥīdī; but the two authors differ considerably with regard to the exact wording of the sayings.

The existence of a common source is obvious in the case of al-Tawḥīdī's Nos. 1–4 (first paragraph) and of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān's *Lum'a* 76 ff. The latter does not depend directly upon al-Tawḥīdī, for, in addition to many other minor divergencies, the *Lum'a* also mentions the name, which is not known to al-Tawḥīdī, of the authority that is credited with saying No. 2. The common source might be the *Tuḥfat al-wāmiḳ*, a treatise on calligraphy by Abu 'l-Ḥusain Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Barbarī, but there is no evidence to prove the correctness of this assumption.

In view of the identical sequence in which certain sayings appear in both authors, a common source also suggests itself for al-Tawḥīdī, Nos. 24, 25, 27, 28, and 31, and al-Balawī, I, 78.

Only one manuscript of al-Tawḥīdī's treatise is known to exist. It was written by a certain Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan al-Bawwāb al-Baghdādī at the end of the month of Ramadan, 728 (beginning of August, 1328). The manuscript is preserved in the Konsular-Akademie in Vienna.[5]

According to the inventory of his "Nachlass," H. Thorbecke prepared a copy of the treatise.[6] It is not stated which manuscript was copied by Thorbecke, and I had no opportunity to study the material left by him. It is, however, virtually certain that Thorbecke had no other manuscript at his disposal than that from Vienna. He was familiar with the Viennese manuscript through his interest in Abū Miḥdjan, whose *Dīwān* the manuscript also contains.

Through the courtesy of the Konsular-Akademie I was able to copy al-Tawḥīdī's treatise in the Oriental Reading Room of the Preussische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin a number of years ago. I have had no recent opportunity to compare my copy with the original manuscript.[7] When I prepared the copy, I thought that I had done it rather accurately. I am no longer so sure of that. A renewed collation of the manuscript might provide the correct explanation of

[3] Ḥunain appears to have been the source of al-Ḳalḳashandī.

[4] The *Ṣiwān* was used by al-Shahrastānī.

[5] Cf. H. Krafft, *Die arabischen, persischen, und türkischen Handschriften der k.k. orientalischen Akademie zu Wien* (Vienna, 1842), No. 11. Cf. also C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar-Berlin, 1898–1902), I, 244 and *Supplement*.

[6] A. Müller–A. Socin, "Heinrich Thorbecke's Wissenschaftlicher Nachlass. . . .," *Zeitsch. d. deutschen morgenländischen Gesellsch.*, XLV (1891), 482.

[7] The Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs informs me that the catalogue of the Konsular-Akademie which is needed to locate the manuscript was lost during the war (letter of November 20, 1946).

[A photostat of the Viennese MS, in the library of Fu'ad I University in Gizah, No. 24090, could be checked very cursorily.]

some doubtful passages. Other passages will have to wait for someone better equipped than I am to deal with the intricacies of the subject matter and of tenth-century literary Arabic.[8]

ABŪ ḤAIYĀN AL-ṢŪFĪ'S EPISTLE ON PENMANSHIP

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL, IN WHOM WE PUT OUR TRUST

The Sheikh Abū Ḥaiyān Ali b. Muhammad b. al-'Abbās al-Tawḥīdī al-Ṣūfī al-Baghdādī—God show mercy unto him—says:

I once was—God grant you a long and always pleasant life—in the house of some high official where a discussion about handwriting was going on. Handwriting was described, its various parts were commented upon, its different aspects were analyzed, and the methods of 'Irāḳī [9] and other calligraphers were characterized. That high official himself had an inimitable and unrivaled handwriting.

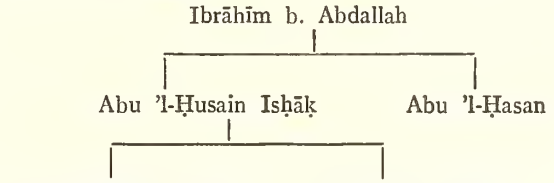
On that occasion I ventured forth with some remarks on the subject, most of which I had learned from Abu Muhammad al-Barbarī,[10] the copyist [11] here with us in Baghdad. He excelled in his craft, which he had inherited from his father and his father's brother—the root which is grafted [12] upon some virtues and vices brings forth wonders and hits upon marvels. I connected those remarks with some gleanings concerning the very nicest and most sophisticated arrangement of the letters, which I had learned from noble personalities, excellent calligraphers, and mature penmen, and which had been reaped by the calamus from the ancient masters. In their time attention was paid to the improvement of the basic forms of the different kinds of Kufic writing. There were twelve such basic forms: (1) al-Ismā'īlī, (2) al-Makkī, (3) al-Madanī, (4) al-Andalusī, (5) al-Sha'mī, (6) al-'Irāḳī, (7) al-'Abbāsī, (8) al-Baghdādī, (9) al-Musha"ab, (10) al-Raiḥānī, (11) al-Mudjarrad, and (12) al-Miṣrī.[13] Some of these Arabic

[8] Many relevant works have not been available. The following would appear to be of special significance: Abdallah b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Baghdādī (ninth century), *Kitāb al-kuttāb,* cf. W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten* (Hamburg, 1928), p. 8 f. A work ascribed to Ibn Muḳla, contained in a manuscript in Tunis, MS or. 672, cf. Mohamed Torki, *Un Texte inédit attribué à Ibn Moqla, Actes du XVIII^e congrès intern. des orientalistes* (Leiden, 1932), p. 243 f. (Tamīm b. ?) al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs (d. 1061), *'Umdat al-kuttāb,* contained in a manuscript in Chicago, Oriental Institute A-12060, which was used by N. Abbott, and in other manuscripts, cf. Brockelmann, *GAL Supplement,* I, 473.

In the following edition and translation, I have numbered the individual sayings and, occasionally, passages within the sayings that contain enumerations.

[9] Al-Irāq refers to the southern part of present-day Iraq. The northwestern mountainous part is called al-Djabal or al-Djibāl.

[10] According to *Fihrist* 13, and Yāḳūt, *Irshād,* VI, 59–61, this famous family of calligraphers consisted of the following members:



[11] N. Abbott, "Arabic Palaeography," *Ars Islamica,* VIII (1941), 68, stated that *muḥarrir* means "calligrapher" rather than "clean copyist."

[12] According to the dictionaries, washadja ("to be entwined") should have a pluralic subject. Since the text uses the singular the above translation seems justified.

[13] Most of these names are derived from the names of cities or countries: Mecca, Medina, Spain, Syria, Iraq, Baghdad, and Egypt. Musha"ab may be interpreted as "branching out," or the like, and mudjarrad means "stripped (plain)." Ismā'īlī and Raiḥānī refer to personalities, the latter probably to Ali b. 'Ubaida al-Raimānī. The 'Abbāsī style might have been named after the Abbasids.

Robertson, in the introductory remarks to his trans-

styles of writing have been used in ancient times, and some have been created at a recent date. The different modern styles (have their origin in the fact that their prototypes) were handed down on the authority of the men around Muhammad in an uninterrupted chain of transmitters unto Ibn Muḳla [14] and Yāḳūt (*sic*) [and others] who modified them according to their own judgment.

I was—God grant you a long life—in the salon of Ibn al-Barbarī,[15] which was crowded with calligraphers and penmen, and each of them set out to reveal the choice sayings that lay hidden within him.

1) One of them said: The best calamus [16] is the one which had been able to ripen in its body, the water of which had dried up in its rind, which was cut after throwing off its seeds, the pith of which is tough, and the bulk of which is heavy.[17]

2) Another said: The calamus which is nibbed obliquely produces a weaker and more elegant handwriting; the one which is nibbed evenly a stronger and clearer one; an intermediate one combines one of the two qualities of the first kind with one of the second. By length in the head [18] of the calamus the light hand is assisted in writing fast; by shortness the reverse.[19]

3) Another said: The nibbing consists of four different processes:

1. The opening (al-fatḥ). In a tough calamus the hollowing is done deeper, in a soft one less deep, and in a medium one betwixt and between.

2. The paring (al-naḥt) consists of two kinds: that of the sides of the calamus, and that of its core. That of the sides should be even with regard to both edges [20] and should not be inclined (?) toward one of the two parts created by the split (of the pen point),[21] because this would weaken the edge of that particular part. The pith, too, of the calamus in its core should be evenly distributed, and the split should be central to the djilfa [22] of the calamus, whether it be thin or thick.

3. The splitting (al-shaḳḳ), too, depends on the kind of calamus available. If it is tough, most of the djilfa should be split; if it is soft, about one-third of it, and if it is of a medium quality, something betwixt and between.[23]

lation of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Lum'a,* 63 f., only mentions al-Makkī, al-Madanī, al-Andalusī, al-'Irākī, and al-Raiḥān(ī). Baṭalyawsī, 88 ff., refers to al-Sha'mī. Cf. also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, III, 149 f.

[14] The famous calligrapher and statesman, Abu Ali Muhammad b. Ali (d. 940). Regarding Yāḳūt, see n. 1.

[15] It is doubtful whether Ibn al-Barbarī is identical with the "high official" mentioned in the beginning. However, it seems unlikely that al-Tawḥīdī here refers not to the gathering in the home of the "high official," but to an earlier one in the home of Ibn al-Barbarī. Should Ibn al-Barbarī be corrected to some other name, such as Ibn al-Yazīdī?

[16] An instructive reproduction of a Muslim calamus is contained in J.P.N. Land, *Anecdota Syriaca* (London, 1862), 1, Pl. A. Cf. also A. F. J. Herbin, *Dèvelopp-mens des principes de la langue arabe moderne* (Paris, 1803), Pls. I and II, and R. Blankertz, *Schreibwerkzeug und Schriftform, Abh. und Ber. d. deutschen Museums* (Munich, 1933), V, fasc. 4, Abh. 46.

[17] Cf. Āmulī, I, 11; Ḳalḳ., II, 443; Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Lum'a,* 76.

[18] For the definition of the "head" of the calamus, cf. Ḳalḳ., II, 447: ". . . . to nib at the head of the calamus, i.e., where it gets thinner." *Ta'rīkh Dimashḳ,* II, 121: "By *djilfa* (see below) the opening of the head of the calamus is meant." Cf. also Ḥuṣrī, II, 234. MS Spoer, p. 4: "The thick part of the reed (*unbūb*)."

[19] Cf. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Lum'a,* 76, where Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Barbarī is credited with this saying; MS Spoer, p. 5.

[20] "The two edges (sinn) of the calamus are its nibbed sides (Ibn Durustawaih, 93)."

[21] "The shaḳḳ of the calamus is the cleft between its two sinn (Ibn Durustawaih, 93)."

[22] "The djilfa (djulfa) of the calamus extends from the beginning of the two sinn to where the nibbing ends (Ibn Durustawaih, 93)." Consequently, djilfa refers to the whole part of the calamus which is cut away in order to make the calamus fit for writing.

[23] Cf. MS Spoer, p. 3.

4. The cutting of the point (al-ḳaṭṭ) is done in different ways: oblique, even, upright, and inclined.[24] The best is the oblique one with a medium slant. Some [25] people tend toward roundness in cutting the point, and praise it and are eager to achieve it. I mean by "round" that no trace of bias is visible and that your hand holds the knife evenly and does not in the least lean toward any one side.[26] The upright one consists in the perfect evenness of both the rind and the pith. The one inclined in its relation to either the pith or the rind is not recommendable.[27]

4) The noble vizier and expert penman,[28] Abu Ali b. Muḳla said, describing the calamus: Lengthen the djilfa and make it good, and nib the point obliquely and to the right.[29] For the point determines the handwriting.

[24] Cf. Ibn Durustawaih, 93.

[25] Is there an omission in the manuscript in this passage?

[26] The last part of this sentence would seem to refer to the "even" ḳaṭṭ, of which nothing more is said.

[27] Cf. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Lum'a,* 77; MS Marsh 202, fol. 128a. On the four kinds of nibbing the calamus, cf. also Āmulī, I, 12, and Sirādj al-Ḥasanī, fol. 28 ff.

[28] Kātib, of course, also means "secretary." The latter translation is here used for kātib in those cases in which it is the only title attached to the name of a person.

[29] A slightly different version of this saying appears below No. 47. Most parallel passages show something of a mixture between Nos. 4 and 47, in that the wording corresponds more closely to that in No. 4, while the introductory remarks of No. 47, mentioning 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā, have been retained. Cf. *'Iḳd,* II, 155; Djahsh. fol. 41b; Ṣūlī, 72; Tanūkhī fol. 158b; Tha'ālibī, *Thimār,* 156; Rāghib, I, 68; *Ta'rīkh Dimashḳ,* II, 121; Ibn Khallikān, II, 175; Lakhmī, fol. 9a; Ibn Kathīr, X, 55; Ibn Nubāta, I, 259; Ḳalḳ., II, 449; Sirādj al-Ḥasanī, fol. 70a; Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Lum'a,* 79, also 69 and 70, n. 30; 'Almawi, 133; MS Marsh 202, fol. 128b; MS Pocock 37, fol. 76b.

It is not quite clear whether the remainder of this long saying also belongs to Ibn Muḳla.

The penman needs seven [30] things: a handwriting that is stripped (plain) through taḥḳīḳ, embellished by taḥdīḳ, perfected by taḥwīḳ, adorned by takhrīḳ, improved by tashḳīḳ, ameliorated by tadḳīḳ, and distinguished by tafrīḳ.

These are the principles and basic forms of handwriting which include its different aspects and subdivisions. Every calamus produces results only as good as its quality warrants—those going down to the watering place are the equivalent of those who come back—if God wills.

1. Stripped (plain) through taḥḳīḳ (attempting accuracy, or normalcy) means giving a distinct shape to all letters, those which are not arranged and those which are,[31] those which are not connected and those which are, with their long strokes and their short strokes, their apertures and curvatures, until it looks as if they smiled and showed front teeth that are wide apart one from another, or laughed and displayed beautifully cultivated gardens.

This concerns all the letters altogether. I am going to mention hereafter that which only concerns individual letters.

2. Taḥdīḳ ("making eyeballs" [32]) means the perfect execution of the *ḥā', khā', djīm,* and similar letters, with regard to their inner white part and their protection (?)[33] from underneath, from above, and from their sides, whether they are mixed with other letters or standing out alone by themselves, until they are like wide-open eyeballs.

3. Taḥwīḳ ("encircling") means rounding front, middle, and tail of the *wāw, fā', ḳāf,* and similar letters, so as to provide those letters with elegance and to increase their comeliness.

4. Takhrīḳ ("piercing") means keeping

[30] While seven items are enumerated in this place, the following detailed explanation mentions ten.

[31] Arranged in words?

[32] Or "pupils." In this context, however, "eyeballs" appears to be more appropriate.

[33] The text is uncertain.

open the loops of the *hā', 'ain, ghain,* and similar letters, however they occur, either alone by themselves or together with others of their kind, so as to make recognizable their distinct shape and their opening (even) to weak eyes.

5. Ta'rīḳ ("causing to take root"?) [34] means bringing out the *nūn, yā',* and similar letters, which occur at the end of words such as *min, 'an, fī, matā, ilā,* and *'alā,* so that it is as if they were woven upon a single loom.

6. Tashḳīḳ (?, "splitting") means enveloping [35] the *ṣād, ḍād, kāf, ṭā', ẓā',* and similar letters in a way that their proportion and equilibrium is preserved, for correctness and elegance of shape depend on proportion and equilibrium. In general, as it has been said, handwriting is spiritual geometry by means of a corporeal instrument.[36]

7. Tanmīḳ ("embellishing") means writing all letters in a neat fashion, whether they are separate or connected, safeguarding them from faulty [37] execution, and spending much care upon their evenness (?).

8. Tawfīḳ ("arranging suitably") means keeping the lines straight in the beginning, middle, end, and below and above, so as to give them harmony and avoid any discordance.

9. Tadḳīḳ ("exactness") means demarcating the tails of the letters, by letting one's hand go,[38] and by employing the edge of the calamus and turning it around either with its front, or with one of its edges, or with both edges, either with application of pressure or without, so as to increase the beauty, splendor, sparkle, and brilliance of the letters.

10. Tafrīḳ ("division")[39] means preventing the letters from encroaching one upon the other and from getting mixed up one with the other, so as to keep the body of each letter separate from that of the other while achieving harmony through the excellency of their shapes.

These points are sufficient for a penman, provided that he is by nature adaptable, agreeable in his doings, of a sweet character, and of an unassuming disposition.

5) I heard the calligrapher, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-A'sar (?) [40] say: Handwriting can be divided into four kinds. The first kind is al-muḥaḳḳaḳ ("accurate," or "normal"),[41] which can be written with a thick, medium, and fine calamus, whether it is nibbed obliquely or straight. Next there comes semi-muḥaḳḳaḳ, which can be written with the same kinds of calamus. Then al-mursal ("flowing"?),[42] which can be written with the same kinds of calamus, and then semi-mursal, which can also be written with the same kinds of calamus. He said: Try to avoid that

[34] According to Ibn Durustawaih, 64 ff., ta'rīḳ (mu'arraḳ) refers to the curved strokes which extend below the line in certain letters such as *sīn* and *nūn.* Cf. also R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (Leiden, 1881), II, 121.

[35] Takannuf (if this should be the correct reading, rather than takashshuf or something similar) could also mean "protecting."

[36] This remark is repeated below No. 56, in the name of Euclid. Without the attribution to an ancient authority the saying appears in Tha'ālibī, *Tamthīl,* 20, but cf. MS Paris, fol. 57b, where the name of Euclid appears, Māwardī, 21; Āmulī, I, 10, quoted by Th.W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam* (Oxford, 1928), p. 2; Sirādj al-Ḥasanī, fol. 13a.

[37] "Of an unequal quality."

[38] A similar expression is used in No. 11 below. It seems to signify "writing fast with broad, flowing strokes." Cf. Sirādj al-Ḥasanī, fol. 163a, who defines irsāl as a fast and steady forward movement of the hand, and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, III, 156.

[39] Cf. Ibn Durustawaih, 65.

[40] The identity of this person and the correct form of his name remain to be ascertained.

[41] Cl. Huart, and following him, E. Robertson write muḥaḳḳiḳ. Muḥaḳḳaḳ appears preferable. Cf. also "Calligraphy. A. An Outline History," *A Survey of Persian Art,* ed. A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman (London-New York, 1939), II, 1707 ff. Abbott, *op. cit.,* 65 ff.

[42] Cf. footnote 38. Robertson, *ad* Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Lum'a,* 61 and 71, renders mursal with "prolonged."

(the handwriting with) a thick calamus becomes coarse, (the one with) a medium one incoherent, and (the one with) a thin one weak.

6) The professor (?) [43] at Bāb al-Ṭāḳ [44] once said to the bookdealer,[45] Ibn al-Khallāl [46]: Hey you! If you have nibbed your calamus obliquely, do not use pressure, but if you have nibbed it straight, never let your hand relax. Your handwriting, despite its elegance, suffers from the fact that there is more pith to your calamus than necessary. You also display an unusual haste in writing, which points to carelessness. Do not do that. For one well-written line is more useful to you and pays you more than ten hasty pages.

7) I heard him say on another occasion: Handwriting with gall ink as a rule has a destructive influence (upon the quality of the writing).

8) I heard the secretary, Ibn Sūrīn [47] say: Some people think that the constant application of mashḳ [48] improves the handwriting. I do not think that this opinion corresponds to the facts, or is in agreement with the truth, or deserves acceptance. The constant application of mashḳ means an uninterrupted movement with a disregard for the right proportions. This causes disorder, which results from the hand being tired. It has often made the calamus aggressive, or caused the writing tool to be rebellious.

9) I heard Ali b. Dja'far,[49] secretary to al-Ṭā'i', who had a good handwriting with an inclination toward round forms, say: There is nothing more useful for a calligrapher than to avoid using his hand for lifting up or putting down a thing, especially if it is heavy. If the movements assimilate themselves to the letters and the letters get buried in the movements, the essential traits of the forms of the handwriting and of the shape of the letters will be safeguarded only inasmuch as they have become filled with them, and their bodies will be protected only inasmuch as they have been put in relation to them.[50] He said: Recently, I lifted a whip with my hand several times and cracked it over the head of my mount. As a result my handwriting was changed for a while.

When I told this story to Abū Sulaimān,[51] he said: What a wonderful remark! As if it had been made with regard to a musician. A musician weighs the different musical movements (κίνησις). Sometimes he mixes the heavy (πυκνή) movement with the light (ἀραιά) one, sometimes he takes away (ἀφαίρεσις) the light movement from

[43] *Al-mudarris*. Or is this a proper name?

[44] The Greenwich Village or Bloomsbury of Baghdad. Cf., for instance, Tawḥīdī, *apud* Ḳifṭī, 88; *idem, Muḳābasāt*, 169 and 186.

[45] A warrāḳ also produced his merchandise himself by copying or by having others copy manuscripts for him.

[46] The identity of this person and the correct form of his name remain to be ascertained. A certain Ibn al-Khallāl al-Basrī is mentioned by Tawḥīdī, *Imtā'*, II, 58. Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, XIV, 245, mentioned a certain copyist, Ali b. Muhammad b. al-Khallāl, who died in the year 991–92.

[47] He is mentioned by Tawḥīdī, *Imtā'*, III, 212 f.

[48] Mashḳ also occurs in Nos. 21, 35, and 90 below. Cf., especially, Ṣūlī, 55 f., 123, and 137, and Baṭalyawsī, 89 and 94. It may be roughly translated by "scribbling," although originally no deprecatory meaning was inherent in the term. Later authors appear to be uncertain regarding the exact meaning of the term. O. Rescher, in his translation of Māwardī, *Das kitāb "adab ed-dunjā wa'ddin des . . . Māwerdī* (Stuttgart, 1932), I, 85, 5, said that mashḳ seems to signify a "verschlungene Schnellschrift" which omits diacritical points and connects unconnected letters. M. Steinschneider, *Vorlesungen über die Kunde hebräischer Handschriften* (Leipzig, 1897), p. 30 f., also happens to refer to the term.

[49] He is mentioned in Tawḥīdī, *Imtā'*, I, 62.

[50] If I correctly understand this difficult passage, the author intends to say that an exertion of the hand causes the handwriting to undergo a change, though it remains essentially unchanged. Has a negation been omitted, and should one translate: ". . . . will *not* be safeguarded, since they . . ."

[51] Cf. above p. 1.

the heavy one, and sometimes he lifts (ἄρσις) one of them up to the other by adding a beat (χρόνος) or subtracting a beat.[52] In his craft he proceeds with the finest degree of sensitivity possible in sensory perception. The fine part of sensory perception is connected with the fine soul, even as the coarse part of the soul is connected with the coarse [53] part of sensory perception.

Abū Sulaimān expressed himself better than that, but there is a more fitting place for it elsewhere.

10) I heard Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābi' [54] say: Whenever I prepared the clean copy of a document immediately after I had drafted it, I noticed some discordance in my handwriting, some oscillation in my calamus, and some heaviness [55] in my hand. But when I rested for a little while after I finished the draft, or took a nap, I succeeded in preparing the clean copy as correctly as I could wish, nor did I make any mistakes.

11) I heard al-Zuhrī,[56] who had been in contact with Ibn Muḳla, Ibn al-Zandjī,[57] and the Banū Thawāba,[58] say: He who has acquired a thorough knowledge of the unconnected letters and then has learned to connect two letters, then three, then four, and so on, to the ultimate number of connected letters that are found in words, such as, for instance, fa-sa-yukfīkahum,[59] . . .,[60] and who has further become acquainted with words which contain combinations of letters that are similar to each other, such as ḥaṭaṭṭu, . . .,[60] and the great number of similar cases, can in my opinion be expected to reach the highest summit of calligraphy. He said: The decisive factor is the ability to keep the ends of the lines straight, to make even the beginnings of the letters,[61] to preserve order and arrangement, to avoid precipitation, to show forcefulness while letting oneself go, and to let one's hand go [62] while using a forcefully compact writing.

12) I heard al-'Asdjadī [63] say: The embroidered cloth of handwriting is its evenness. Its design is its shape.[64] Its coloring is the well-

[52] My friend, Eric Werner, has kindly supplied the Greek equivalents. He refers me to Euclid (in *Musici scriptores Graeci* [Leipzig, 1895]), p. 148; Aristides Quintilianus, *De musica*, ed. R. Schaefke (Berlin, 1937), pp. 217 and 293; and Sa'adyāh, cf. E. Werner and I. Sonne, "The Philosophy and Theory of Music in Judaeo-Arabic Literature," *Hebrew Union College Ann.*, XVI (1941), 302 (fifth and sixth mode), 317, paras. 154 and 162, as well as H. G. Farmer, *Sa'adyah Gaon on the Influence of Music* (London, 1943), p. 18 ff. (from al-*Kindī, Risāla fī adjzā' khabarīyāt al-mūsikī.*

[53] MS: "fine."

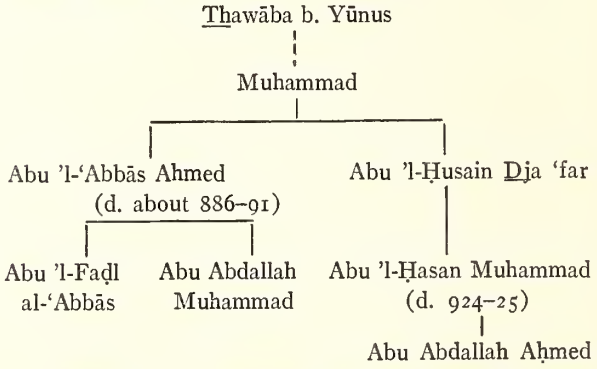
[54] I.e., Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābi' (d. 994).

[55] Or "negligence."

[56] The identity of this person remains to be established. A certain Abū Bakr al-Zuhrī is mentioned in Tawḥīdī, *Imtā'*, III, 213, a certain al-Zuhairī, *ibid.*, I, 63, and III, 196.

[57] He may be identical with Abu Abdallah b. al-Zandjī, who is mentioned below No. 15.

[58] Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, IV, 146, 155; VII, 186 ff.; XVII, 97 (cf. also *Fihrist*, 187 f.) mentioned some members of the Thawāba family. Their mutual relationship is indicated in the following table:



Tawḥīdī, *Imtā'*, repeatedly mentioned Abu 'l-Haitham al-'Abbās b. Muhammad b. Thawāba (d. 915–16). He also referred to a certain Sulaimān b. Thawāba (*Imtā'*, III, 7). Their relationship, if any, to the other members of the Thawāba family is not clear.

[59] Koran, II, 137 (131 Flügel).

[60] Here follow other examples.

[61] In the beginnings of the lines?

[62] Cf. footnote 38.

[63] Cf. Tawḥīdī, *Imtā'*, I, 48, and *idem, Ṣadāḳa*, 7, 51, 131.

[64] "Vowel signs" could hardly be meant here.

measured arrangement of the black (writing) on the white (paper of the page).[65] Its elegance is the preservation of its individual components in the composition of the whole.

13) I heard the secretary, Ibn al-Marzubān,[66] who was a good stylist,[67] say: Handwriting is a difficult geometry and an exacting craft. If it is elegant, it is weak. If it is solid, it is easily washed off (?). If it is big, it is coarse. If it is thin, it looks scattered, and if it is round, it is thick. A shape that combines all the qualities, the largest and smallest, can be devised only in exceptional and rare cases.

14) I heard Ibn al-Musharraf al-Baghdādī [68] say: I have seen the handwriting of al-Ma'mūn's secretary, Ahmed b. Abī Khālid,[69] which the Byzantine king used to take out and exhibit among his treasures on the day of his festival.[70] He said: Ahmed b. Abī Khālid's *alif*'s and *lam*'s were as upright and straight as could be; the only blemish I could find in the letters of his handwriting was in the connected *wāw*'s and the unconnected *yā*'s. He said: I have also seen the handwriting of Ibrāhīm b. al-'Abbās,[71] which was very weak but most elegant and fascinating. He said: I have also seen the handwriting of Dhu 'l-Ri'āsatain,[72] which was superb; but he did not write with either a medium or a thick calamus. He said: Neither the people of the east nor those of the west [73] have a handwriting which would deserve description.

15) The secretary, Abu Abdallah b. al-Zandjī,[74] whom I saw in Azerbaijan while he was working for the Sallārid Ibrāhīm b. al-Marzubān, said to us: The handwriting which is most satisfactory and fulfills the greatest number of conditions of a good handwriting is the one in use with our colleagues in the Iraq. When I asked him about his opinion concerning the handwriting of Ibn Muḳla, he said: He is a prophet in the field of handwriting; it was poured upon his hand, even as it was revealed to the bees to make their honey cells hexagonal.[75]

[65] The text page. For this meaning of taḳdīr, cf. Baṭalyawsī, 68. Istiwā' al-taḳdīr is mentioned as one of the conditions of a good handwriting by Ibn Durustawaih, 73.

[66] He may be the well-known writer, Muhammad b. 'Imrān al-Marzubānī (d. 994), who is also referred to as Ibn al-Marzubān. However, al-Tawḥīdī, who was acquainted with him, always calls him al-Marzubānī in his other works.

Another kātib by the name of Ibn al-Marzubān, al-'l-Faḍl Muhammad b. Abdallah b. al-Marzubān, al-Shīrāzī, also lived in this period, cf. the introduction of the editors to Tawḥīdī, *Imtā'*, I, 13.

[67] In the text balīgh, balāgha ("eloquent, eloquence,") as a rule refers to the written, and not to the spoken word. In the majority of cases, therefore, a translation "(good) stylist, style," is indicated.

[68] The identity of this person remains to be ascertained.

[69] Ahmed b. Abī Khālid al-Aḥwal (d. 825–26), kātib of al-Ma'mūn.

[70] This story is referred to by Ṣūlī, 45. Tha'ālibī, *Thimār*, 167, stated that a document written by Ibn Muḳla and pertaining to a certain truce between the Muslims and the Byzantines was greatly admired by the Byzantines and was exhibited on their holidays.

[71] I.e., al-Ṣūlī (d. 857), a granduncle of the author of *Adab al-kuttāb*.

[72] I.e., al-Faḍl b. Sahl (d. 818), vizier of al-Ma'mūn. The *Ri'āsī* style of writing is named after him, cf., for instance, Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, VI, 60.

[73] The countries east and west of al-'Irāḳ. For this usage of mashriḳ and maghrib in the tenth century, cf., for instance, Miskawaih, in H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate* (Oxford, 1920–21), I, 42, and Tawḥīdī, *Imtā'*, II, 181.

[74] He might be identical with Abu Abdallah Muhammad b. Ismā'īl Zandjī, who died in 946. Al-Tawḥīdī was born before 932. Thus, he might have known Abu Abdallah. However, Ibrāhīm b. al-Marzubān (deposed in 979) can under no circumstances have been referred to as the ruler of Azerbaijan prior to the death of al-Marzubān in 957. If this identification is correct, one must resort to the difficult assumption that Abu Abdallah was employed by Ibrāhīm before the latter assumed power. Cf. V. Minorsky, "Musāfirids," *Encycl. Islām* (Leyden-London, 1936), III, 743–45.

[75] Cf. Koran, XVI, 68 (70 Flügel). Damīrī, I, 283, *s.v.* naḥl.

16) When I asked Abu 'l-Djamal,[76] who was a secretary to Naṣr al-Dawla Shāshnīkīr,[77] about the difference between the handwriting of the people of the Djabal and that of the people of the Iraq,[78] he said: A difference which cannot remain concealed to a person that has eyes to see, and which does not admit of any doubt or uncertainty. The handwriting of our colleagues is resplendent and brilliant. The handwriting of the people of the Djabal, on the other hand, is . . . (?). If an upright stroke by chance turns out right, it looks as if it were a mistake and the rest were correct. Furthermore, the execution of the rest of the letters lacks sparkle in that handwriting. Everything is somehow mixed up. It has no beauty.

17) I heard Abū Tammām al-Zainabī,[79] whose handwriting was good and whose style original, say in reply to the question where he had acquired his handwriting and style: I took Abu Ali b. Muḳla as model for my handwriting, even though I am far from realizing his high aspirations and unable to come near him. As to my style, Hāshimī origin has made for nobility, and the imitation of the Banū Thawāba has been instructive.

If I should mention all such remarks that I have learned from the masters of this metier and the great men of this craft, it would take much time and space. In the following section, therefore, I shall hand down unto you bons mots of the wise and the learned which are concerned with the description of handwriting and which might give experience to him who studies handwriting. You will thus be warned to make strenuous efforts in this respect and to choose the handwriting which is most perfect with regard to its power and strength. The most important thing is an adaptable nature, a strong will, and previous divine inspiration.

18) An ancient authority said: A good handwriting gives added clarity to truth.[80]

19) With regard to the word of God—Great is His praise—: " . . . adding to the creation what He pleaseth," [81] Ḳatādah [82] said that a good handwriting was intended.[83]

20) A tradition handed down on the authority of Wahb [84] says: If a man writes bi-smi 'llāhi l-raḥmāni 'l-raḥīm, and writes it very well and carefully, God will pardon him.[85]

21) Omar b. al-Khattab—God show favor unto him—said: The worst way of reading aloud is spluttering, and the worst way of writing is scribbling (mashḳ).[86]

22) Omar said: The best handwriting is

[76] The correct form of the name of this person remains to be ascertained. Ibn al-Ḥml, secretary to Naṣr al-Dawla Shāshnīkīr, is mentioned by Tawḥīdī, *Ṣadāḳa*, 32. A certain Abu 'l-Djml appears in Tawḥīdī, *Imtā'*, I, 66.

[77] MS: Naṣīr. Shāshnīkīr is Iranian chāshnīgīr. The same word appears to occur in Tawḥīdī, *Imtā'*, III, 215. It is identical with the later title djāshnakīr.

[78] Cf. footnote 9. Comparisons between the qualities of 'Irāḳīs and Djabalīs were quite a popular topic in al-Tawḥīdī's circle, cf., for instance, *Imtā'*, I, 62.

[79] The chief cadi, al-Ḥusain b. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sharīf (d. 982–83). Cf. also Tawḥīdī, *Imtā'*, III, 100, 153, 213.

[80] Cf. 'Askarī, *Ma'ānī*, II, 86; Māwardi, 22; Lakhmī, fol. 16a (in the name of Muhammad); Nuwairī, VII, 14 (where this saying is reported in the name of the Caliph Ali); MS Pocock 37, fol. 74a (in the name of Muhammad); MS Spoer, p. 3.

[81] Koran, XXXV, 1.

[82] Ḳatāda b. Di'āma (d. 735).

[83] Cf. Lakhmī, fol. 16a; Nuwairī, VII, 13; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, II, 179 f.; MS Pocock 37, fol. 74b.

[84] Wahb b. Munabbih (d. about 732).

[85] Cf. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Lum'a*, 75 f. Theologians frequently extol the merit inherent in the constant and careful application of the various religious formulas, cf. Suyūṭī, *Itḳān*, 868 f.

[86] Cf. Ṣūlī, 56; Māwardī, 22; 'Almawī, 133. On mashḳ, cf. footnote 48.

that which is clearest,[87] and the clearest handwriting is that which is best.

23) 'Abbās[88] said: Handwriting is the tongue of the hand.[89] Style is the tongue of the intellect. The intellect is the tongue of good actions and qualities. And good actions and qualities are the perfection of man.

24) The first philosopher[90] said: The calamus is one of the two tongues, even as it has been said: A small family is one of the two kinds of wealth.[91]

25) When someone said to Naṣr b. Saiyār:[92] So-and-so does not write, he replied: This is a hidden, long, and debilitating disease.[93]

26) The vizier, Ibn al-Zaiyāt[94] said: The calamus introduces the daughters of the brains into the bridal chambers of the books.[95]

27) Ibn al-Taw'am[96] said: The written word can be read in any place and at any time, and it can be interpreted by any tongue. The spoken word, on the other hand, does not reach farther than the ears which hear it, and it is not equally clear for everybody.[97] Without written documents there would be divergent reports about past generations, and information on (for?) future generations would be interrupted.[98] The spoken word is for those who are present, but the written word is for those who are far away and those who will come and go after you. The usefulness of the calamus is more general, and the government offices need it more than the spoken word. It is only through written communications that a king who resides in the middle of his country knows about the welfare of the outlying districts, the safety of the frontier zones, and the stability of his realm. Without writing no administration could go on, and affairs could not be properly managed.

28) Ismā'īl b. Ṣabīḥ al-Thaḳafī[99] said: The brains of men are under the points of their pens.[100]

[87] Cf. 'Almawī, 133. Without the name of the caliph this saying appears below No. 68, where further parallel passages are indicated.

[88] The identity of this person remains to be ascertained. Parallel passages mentioned 'Ubaidallāh b. al-'Abbās b. al-Ḥasan al-'Alawī.

[89] Cf. Ibn al-Mudabbir, 42; Ṣūlī, 74; 'Askarī, *Ma'ānī*, II, 74; Rāghib, I, 57; Māwardī, 21; Balawī, I, 78; Nuwairī, VII, 13 f.; Āmulī, I, 11; Sirādj al-Ḥasani, fol. 14a; Tāshk., I, 70; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, III, 144.

[90] Al-ḥakīm al-awwal may, of course, refer to Aristotle, but it is doubtful whether Aristotle is meant here.

[91] Cf. Ibn Ḳutaiba, *'Uyūn*, I, 47; Ṣūlī, 74; Balawī, I, 78. The first part of this saying is found in Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, I, 71; *idem*, *Ḥayawān*, I, 22; *'Iḳd*, II, 153; Ṣūlī, 74; Baihaḳī, I, 6; Tanūkhī, fol. 44b-45b; Māwardī, 21; Tha'ālibī, *Tamthīl*, 20, and *idem*, *Thimār;* Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, 38; Ghazzāli, *Iḥyā'*, III, 126 (*Kitāb āfāt al-lisān*); Lakhmī, fol. 6a; Nuwairī, VII, 20; Sirādj al-Ḥasanī, fol. 14a; Suyūṭī, *Itḳān*, 869; MS Pocock 37, fol. 75a. The second part is quoted, for instance, by Maidānī, II, 166 f.

[92] I.e. al-Laith, governor of Khurasan (d. 748).

[93] Cf. Ibn Ḳutaiba, *'Uyūn*, I, 47; Tha'ālibī, *Tamthīl*, 20; Balawī, I, 78. Cf. below saying No. 86.

[94] Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Malik (d. 847).

[95] Cf. Rāghib, I, 67, and Ḳalḳ., II, 437. A similar metaphor, though with a different twist, appears in Ḥalabī, 82.

[96] The identity of this person remains to be ascertained.

[97] Cf. Balawī, I, 78. For the first part of this saying, cf. also Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, I, 71, and Baihaḳī, I, 6. Cf. also the anonymous *Risāla fī faḍl al-'ilm*, addressed to Ahmed b. Abī Du'ād (d. 854), in *Revue acad. arabe de Damas*, XIX (1944), 74.

[98] If ghābir here means "past generations," and not "future generations," the second half of this sentence would be a repetition of the first. The context seems to favor the above translation. Cf. Pseudo-Djāḥiẓ, 59, and Ghazzālī, *Ḥikma*, 31.

[99] There seems to be no certainty as to whether the name of Ismā'īl's father was Ṣabīḥ, or Ṣubaiḥ. Cf. also Björkman, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[100] Cf. Ibn Ḳutaiba, *'Uyūn*, I, 47; *'Iḳd*, II, 156; Ṣūlī, 67; *Fihrist*, 15; Tha'ālibī, *Tamthīl*, 20; *idem*, *Īdjāz*, 24—and *Khāṣṣ*, 3; Rāghib, I, 59; Maidānī, II, 166 f.; Balawī, I, 78; Lakhmī, fol. 9a; Nuwairī, VII, 20; Ḳālḳ., II, 436; Ikhtiyār al-Dīn, 126 f.; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, II, 179 f.; *Bustān*, fol. 40b. Cf. also the poem by Ali b. Muhammad al-Tanūkhī (d. 953), in Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, XIV, 174.

29) Ali b. 'Ubaida [101] said: The calamus is deaf, yet, it hears secrets. It is mute, yet, it expresses ideas clearly.[102] It is more unable to say what it wants to say than Bāḳil,[103] yet, it is better able to express itself and is more eloquent than Saḥbān Wā'il.[104] It interprets the thoughts of those who are present, and gives information about those who are far away.[105]

30) Ahmed b. Yūsuf,[106] secretary of al-Ma'mūn, said: Tears upon the cheeks of chaste young women are no more beautiful than tears of a calamus in a manuscript.[107]

31) Dja'far b. Yaḥyā [108] said: Handwriting is the necklace of wisdom. It serves to sort the pearls of wisdom, to bring its dispersed pieces into good order,[109] to put its stray bits together, and to fix its setting(?).

32) Al-Namarī said: The calami are the pack animals of the minds,[110] the couriers of the natural faculties, and the *avant-garde* of the part of the body in which thought and feeling are situated.

33) Djabal b. Yazīd [111] said: The calamus is the tongue of the person of insight. It reveals to him secret rumors,[112] reassures him about the natural qualities which had been stirred up (??),[113] and tells him what happened while he was in the country (?).

34) 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā,[114] secretary of Marwān, said: The calamus is a tree whose fruit is the spoken word. Reflection is an ocean whose pearl is wisdom.[115] Eloquence [116] is a watering place where the thirsty intellects are watered. Handwriting is a garden whose flowers are instructive remarks.

35) Ibn al-Muḳaffa' [117] said: The calamus

[101] I.e., al-Raiḥānī, who lived in the time of al-Ma'mūn.

[102] Cf. Ṣūlī, 67. For the whole saying, cf. *'Iḳd,* II, 156.

[103] Cf. Djāḥiẓ, *Madḥ al-kutub,* 43; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Ma'ārif,* 296; Tawḥīdī, *Imtā',* I, 61; Ibn Ḥibbān, 105; 'Askarī, *Djamhara, s.v. a'yā;* Tha'ālibī, *Thimār,* 100 f.; Maidāni, II, 146, quoted in Lane's dictionary, *s. rad. 'yy;* Ibn Ḥamdūn, fol. 32a-33a (ch. 30); Sharīshī, I, 253 f. and II, 50; Muṭarrizī, fol. 77b (16th *Maḳāma*), who quoted the collections of proverbs by Abū 'Ubaid b. Sallām and Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī; Yāḳūt, *Irshād,* XVII, 148; *Lisān al-'Arab, s. rad. bḳl;* Suyūṭī, *Muzhir,* I, 242.

[104] Saḥbān is frequently mentioned as the model of eloquence, cf., for instance, Djāḥiẓ, *Madḥ al-kutub,* 43; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Ma'ārif,* 297; 'Askarī, *Djamhara,* 66; Tha'ālibī, *Thimār,* 79; Maidānī, I, 450 and II, 794, cf. also III, fasc. 1, 43; *Ta'rīḳh Dimashḳ,* VI, 65; Sharīshī, *loc. cit.; Muṭarrizī* fol. 37b-38a (5th *Maḳāma*); Yāḳūt, *Irshād,* XVII, 148; *Lisān al-'Arab, s. rad. sḥb* and *bḳl;* Nuwairi, II, 109; Ibn Nubāta, I, 148, where it is stated that Saḥbān Wā'il died in 674. Cf. also Tawḥīdī, *Imtā',* I, 100, 139, and the introduction to Tawḥīdī, *Muḳābasāt,* 54.

In his *Nūnīya* Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Bustī, a contemporary of al-Tawḥīdī, sings: Saḥbān without money is dumb like Bāḳil, and a wealthy Bāḳil is like Saḥbān.

[105] It is unlikely that the text should be translated: ". . . interprets what is going on in its presence, and gives information about what is happening far away."

[106] Died about 828–29, cf. *Ta'rīḳh Dimashḳ,* II, 123.

[107] Cf. *'Iḳd,* II, 156; Ṣūlī, 67; Lakhmī, fol. 9a; Ḳālḳ., II, 436; MS Pocock 37, fol. 70b.

[108] I.e., al-Barmakī (d. 803).

[109] Cf. Ṭabarī, II, 843; Djahsh. fol. 125b; 'Askarī, *Awā'il, fol.* 39a; *idem, Ma'ānī,* II, 74; Māwardī, 20; Balawī, I, 78; Sharīshī, I, 95; Nuwairī, VII, 14; Sirādj al-Ḥasanī, fol. 14a; Tāshk., I, 70.

[110] Cf. *'Iḳd,* II, 156; *Fihrist,* 15; Ḳalḳ., II, 437; MS Pocock, 37, fol. 75b. Cf. also Ṣūlī, 67 f.; Tashk., I, 71. Ṣūlī, 38, quoted this saying in the name of al-'Attābī; Tha'ālibī, *Tamthil,* MS Paris, fol. 58b; Lakhmī, fol. 9b.

[111] Secretary of 'Umāra b. Ḥamza, who lived in the time of the Caliph al-Mahdī, cf. *Fihrist,* 171 and 181; Ibn al-Mudabbir, 42.

[112] Cf. Ṣūlī, 66. A footnote in the edition of Ṣūlī refers to Ḳalḳ. Cf. also Lakhmī, fol. 6a, where we read aḍ-ḍamīr, for al-baṣīr, and al-asmā', for al-asmā'.

[113] Or: ". . . which had become apparent (istashāra)" ??

[114] The famous prototype of the kuttāb (d. 739-40).

[115] Cf. Djahsh. fol. 41b; Ṣūlī, 68; Tanūkhī, fol. 158b; Tha'ālibī, *Ijāz,* 29; *idem, Thimār,* 156; Muṭarrizī, fol. 150b (40th *Maḳāma*); Ibn Kathīr, X, 55; MS Spoer, p. 3. *Fihrist,* 15, includes the following sentence.

[116] Or: "A good style."

[117] The celebrated littérateur (d. 759).

is the courier of information who brings back the news and reveals hidden intelligence.[118] It sharpens the dull powers of reflection. The fruit of the vicissitudes and experiences of life[119] is plucked from its scribbling (mashḳ).[120]

36) Abū Dulaf al-'Idjlī[121] said: The calamus is the goldsmith of speech. It liquefies and founds the content of the heart and fashions the ingots of the part of the body in which thought and feeling are situated.[122]

37) Hishām b. al-Ḥakam[123] said: Handwriting is jewelry fashioned by the hand from the pure gold of the intellect. It also is brocade woven by the calamus with the thread of discernment.

38) The Greek philosopher said: The light of handwriting makes wisdom visible,[124] and the skilful handling of the calamus shapes politics.

39) Thumāma[125] said: Time does not desire to efface the imprints of the calamus.[126]

40) Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik[127] said: Handwriting is meek in its form, but its significance is great.[128] It is humble in its appearance,[129] but its influence is considerable.

41) The Ṣāḥib al-Ṭāḳ[130] said: Many a handwriting which is inconspicuous to look at has demanded the full attention of speculative minds.[131]

42) Hāshim b. Sālim[132] said: Ink appears black to sight but white to insight.[133]

43) Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir[134] said: The heart is a mine, the intellect a precious mineral, the tongue a miner, the calamus a goldsmith, and the handwriting a finished piece of jewelry.[135]

44) Sahl b. Hārūn[136] said: The calamus is the nose of the brain. When it bleeds,[137] it divulges the secrets of the brain, shows its ideas, and spreads the information the brain has.[138]

45) A Bedouin who looked at the handwriting of Ahmed b. Abī Khālid while he was writing said: The inkstand is a watering place, the calamus someone who goes down to it, and the manuscript the resting place where one goes after having been at the watering place.[139]

46) Al-Ma'mūn said: Handwriting is the garden of knowledge, the wells (?) of under-

[118] Cf. Ṣūlī, 67; Rāghib, I, 68.

[119] Cf. Tawḥīdī, *Imtā'*, I, 42: (al-dunyā) fī 'ibarihā wa-ghiyarihā.

[120] Cf. footnote 48.

[121] I.e., al-Ḳāsim b. 'Īsā (d. 839–40).

[122] Cf. Ṣūlī, 67; Tha'ālibī, *Tamthīl*, 20; MS Spoer, p. 3; Sirādj al-Ḥasanī, fol. 25a.

[123] Died in the first quarter of the ninth century.

[124] Cf. Ḳalḳ., II, 437.

[125] The Mu'tazila leader (d. 828).

[126] Cf. Ḥunain, 152 f.; *'Iḳd*, II, 156; Tha'ālibī, *Tamthīl*, MS Paris, fol. 58a; Ḳalḳ., II, 437; MS Pocock 37, fol. 75b; MS Spoer, p. 3.

[127] The Umaiyad caliph (d. 743).

[128] Cf. Ḥunain, 153; *'Iḳd*, II, 156.

[129] Or should one translate, in accordance with what seems to be the reading of the manuscript: "It is (like) a humble old man whose influence, however, is considerable"?

[130] The identity of this person remains to be ascertained.

[131] Cf. *'Iḳd*, II, 156.

[132] The identity of this person remains to be ascertained. A certain Hishām b. Sālim, of the clan Dhu'l-Rumma, who lived in the time of the grammarian and lexicographer, al-A'rābī, is mentioned in Tawḥīdī, *Imtā'*, I, 104.

[133] Cf. Ḥuṣrī, II, 31; Tha'ālibī, *Tamthīl*, 20; *idem*, *Idjāz*, 29; Āmulī, I, 11; Ikhtiyār al-Dīn, 127; MS Pocock 37, fol. 77a.

[134] The Mu'tazila leader (d. 825).

[135] Cf. 'Askarī, *Awā'il*, fol. 39a; Balawī, I, 78; Lakhmī, fol. 10a.

[136] Died in 830.

[137] According to Baṭalyawsī, 87, r'f is used as a technical term denoting the dripping of ink from the calamus.

[138] Cf. Ṣūlī, 67; Lakhmī, fol. 6a.

[139] Cf. Ṣūlī, 67, who quotes this saying on the authority of al Djāḥiẓ.

standing, the branch (?) of wisdom, and the brocade (?) of clear proof.[140]

(47) Ibrāhīm b. Djabala said: When the secretary, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd passed by me and saw me write a bad hand, he asked: Do you want your handwriting to improve? I answered: Yes, and he said: Lengthen the djilfa of your calamus and cut its point all over again. I did so, and my handwriting improved.[141]

48) Dja'far b. Yaḥyā, looking at a beautiful handwriting, said: I never saw someone shed tears, and at the same time smile, more beautifully than the calamus.[142]

49) Al-Ma'mūn, looking at a beautifully written official document, said: How wonderful is the calamus! How it weaves the fine cloth of royal power,[143] embroiders the ornamental borders of the garment of the ruling dynasty, and keeps up the standards of the caliphate.

50) When a secretary of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ came to Omar, the latter asked him: Are you not Ibn al-Ḳain from Mecca? When the secretary answered in the affirmative. Omar said to him: The calamus does not hesitate to show to whom it belongs.[144]

51) Al-Rashīd who liked the handwriting of Ismā'īl b. Ṣabīḥ said to a Bedouin: Describe me Ismā'īl and his handwriting! The Bedouin replied: I never saw anything more agitated than his calamus, and more firm than his judgment. Whereupon al-Rashīd exclaimed: Well spoken, O Bedouin, and ordered a sum of money to be given to him.[145]

52) Al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā [146] said: A bad handwriting is one of the two kinds of stammering, even as it has been said: A good handwriting is one of the two kinds of eloquence.[147]

53) Abdallah b. Ṭāhir,[148] looking at the handwriting of a certain secretary, was not satisfied with it and said: Remove him from his government office job, for he is ill with regard to his handwriting, and there is no guarantee that he might not infect someone else.[149]

54) Abdallah b. Ṭāhir made the following note to a badly written petition which Ma'bad b. So-and-So (?) had handed him: We were willing to accept your excuse, but in view of your bad handwriting we changed our mind. If you had been truthful in stating your case, the movement of your hand would have aided you. Or do you not know that a beautiful handwriting speaks for the writer, makes his arguments convincing, and enables him to obtain what he wants.[150]

55) When two clerks asked Sahl b. Hārūn to decide whose handwriting was better, he said to one of them: Your handwriting is a filigree of pure gold, and to the other he said: Your handwriting is fine woven cloth. Through your mutual efforts you have reached the limit (of beauty

[140] No uniform interpretation of all four metaphors suggests itself. Consequently, the above translation is highly uncertain. A remotely similar remark is in Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, XVI, 98.

[141] Cf. footnote 29.

[142] Cf. Tha'ālibī, *Tamthīl*, 20; *idem*, *Khāṣṣ*, 3; *idem*, *Īdjāz*, 24. For the used metaphor, cf. also *'Iḳd*, II, 155; *Fihrist*, 15; Ḥalabī, 80; Ḳalḳ., II, 437; MS Pocock 37, fol. 70b.

[143] Cf. Baihaḳī, I, 8; Ṣūlī, 67; Tha'ālibī, *Tamthīl*, 20; *idem*, *Īdjāz*, 20; Rāghib, I, 67; Ḳalḳ., II, 437; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, II, 179 f.; MS Pocock 37, fol. 71b.

[144] I.e.: "I recognized you from your handwriting."

[145] Cf. Ṣūlī, 73; 'Askarī, *Ma'ānī*, II, 77; Rāghib, I, 60. Cf. also Ibn Ḳutaiba, *'Uyūn*, I, 47.

[146] I.e., al-Barmakī (d. 808).

[147] Cf. Ṣūlī, 53; Lakhmī, fol. 16a; MS Pocock 37, fol. 74a. The first half of this saying appears in *Fihrist*, 16, cf. Khafādjī, *Ṭirāz*, 256; *Rāghib*, I, 60. The second half is found in 'Askarī, *Ma'ānī*, II, 86; Māwardī, 21; Sirādj al-Ḥasanī, fol. 14a. Cf. also above Nos. 24 and 25.

[148] Died in 844.

[149] Cf. Ṣūlī, 52 f. Cf. also below No. 94.

[150] Cf. Ṣūlī, 53; 'Askarī, *Ma'ānī*, II, 86. The last sentence is also found in *'Iḳd*, II, 156; MS Pocock 37, fol. 74a.

in handwriting) and achieved the most perfect (handwriting possible).[151]

56) Euclid said: Handwriting is spiritual geometry which appears by means of a bodily instrument.[152]

57) Homer said: Handwriting is something which the intellect causes to appear in the calamus by means of the senses. The soul, when confronted with handwriting, loves in it the first element.[153]

58) Plato said: The calamus is the fetter of the intellect.[154] Handwriting is the deployment of the senses, and the desire of the soul is attained through it.

59) MWDWṬYS [155] said: The calamus is the chief of wisdom.[155a] Handwriting is the master of the calamus. The idea is the rich gift of the intellect, and the good style is the ornament of the whole.[156]

60) Galen said: The calamus is the physician of handwriting.[157] Handwriting prescribes the diet of the soul, and the idea is the source (?) of health (correctness).

61) Balīnās [158] said: The calamus is the most potent amulet, and handwriting is its result.[159]

62) Aristotle said: The calamus is the active cause, ink the elementary cause, handwriting the formal cause, and a good style the final cause.[160]

63) The Greek king said: The world depends on two things, one of which, in turn, depends upon the other. These two things are the sword and the calamus. And the sword depends on the calamus.[161]

64) Alexander said: Without the calamus a realm could not be properly administrated. Everything depends on the intellect and the tongue, because they decide everything and give information about everything, and the calamus shows you both intellect and tongue in (material) shapes and represents them to you in (material) forms.[162]

65) The astrologers were of the opinion that "the calamus" is identical with "very useful," according to the numerical value of the letters of these words.[163]

66) Yaḥyā b. Khālid [164] said: Handwriting is a form, its spirit clear evidence, its hand speed,

[151] Cf. 'Iḳd, II, 156; 'Askarī, *Awā'il,* fol. 39a; Rāghīb, I, 60; Lakhmī, fol. 9b. Cf. also Tawḥīdī, *Imtā',* I, 100. The suggested correction of takhāyara to takhāyarā is superfluous.

[152] Cf. footnote 36. Cf., further, Ḥunain, 153; Ṣūlī, 41; *Fihrist,* 16; Abū Sulaimān, fol. 38b; Rāghib, I, 57; Shahr., 357.

[153] Cf. Ḥunain, 147; Shahr., 301; Ḳalḳ., II, 437.

[154] Cf. Ṣūlī, 45; *Fihrist,* 15 f.; Abū Sulaimān, in the life of Plato; Mubashshir, fol. 55a; MS Pocock 37, fol. 75a; 'Askarī, *Awā'il,* fol. 39a; Tha'ālibī, *Tamthīl,* MS Paris, fol. 57b-58a; *Bustān,* fol. 41. Cf. F. Rosenthal, "On the Knowledge of Plato's Philosophy in the Islamic World," *Islamic Culture,* XIV (1940), 408.

[155] Herodotus?, Menodotus?, or perhaps, MWRSṬYS, Mūristus. For the last mentioned personality, cf. Abū Sulaimān, fol. 43a, and, especially, H. G. Farmer, "Mūristus," *Encycl. Islam. Suppl.,* (Leiden-London, 1938), pp. 156–57.

[155a] Cf. 'Askarī, *Awā'il,* fol. 39b.

[156] Or: "of the sentence" ?

[157] Cf. Ṣūlī, 67; Ḳalḳ., II, 247. Cf. also Ḥunain, 134; Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, I, 88; *Bustān,* fol. 41a.

[158] For Apollonius of Tyana in Arabic tradition, cf. P. Kraus, *Jābir Ibn Ḥayyān, Mém. de l'Inst. d'Égypte,* 45 (Cairo, 1942), Vol. 2.

[159] Cf. Ḥunain, 151; Rāghib, I, 57; Ḳalḳ., II, 247; *Bustān,* fol. 41a.

[160] Cf. Ḥunain, 111; Ṣūlī, 45; *Fihrist,* 15; Abū Sulaimān, fol. 38b; Ḳalḳ., II, 437; *Bustān,* fol. 41b.

[161] Cf. Ḥunain, 150 (Solon); Ṣūlī, 45; Mubashshir, fol. 18b (Solon); Ḳalḳ., II, 437; Tāshk., I, 71. Cf. also *'Ikd,* II 155; Sharīshī, I, 98; MS Paris ar. 3953, fol. 11a (Solon); Lakhmī, fol. 9a; *Bustān,* fol. 41a.

[162] Cf. Ḥunain, 119; Mubashshir, fol. 92a; Ḳalḳ., II, 437.

[163] Cf. *Fihrist,* 15; Rāghib, I, 67. The *Fihrist* states on the authority of al-Kindī that al-ḳalam as well as naffā' has the numerical value of 201.

[164] I.e., al-Barmakī (d. 805).

its foot evenness, and its limb the knowledge of division.[165]

67) A Bedouin who was asked to give his opinion about Ibrāhīm b. al-'Abbās and his handwriting said: He pours out (?) disarranged pearls when he makes speeches, and he strings together those precious jewels when he writes manuscripts with his calamus.[166]

68) Ibrāhīm b. al-'Abbās said to a clerk in his presence:[167] Let your calamus be medium thick. Do not nib it at a knot, for this would make matters knotty. Do not write with a twisted calamus, or with one with an <un> even split.[168] If you cannot afford a Fārisī or Baḥrī [169] calamus and are obliged to use a Nabataean one, select those which tend to have a brown color. Make your knife sharper than a razor; do not cut anything with it but the calamus, and take very good care of it. Let your miḳaṭṭ [170] be of the toughest wood available, so that the point may come out evenly. In cutting your calamus keep to the middle between obliqueness and evenness. When you write fine letters, hold your calamus even, so that the letters may come out well;[171] when you write large letters, hold it inclined toward the side. The best handwriting is that which is clearest, and the best way of reading aloud is that which is clearest.[172]

69) Al-Ḥasan b. Wahb [173] used to say: A penman needs a number of qualifications. He must be able to cut the calamus according to the best method; to lengthen its djilfa; to nib its point obliquely; to be careful and slow in grasping [174] it with the fingertips; to let the ink flow sufficiently to make the letters come out well; to be careful not to make blots; to omit the vowel signs in the case of a mistake, and the diacritical points in the case of a misspelt word; to make the writing [175] even; to know how correctly to divide and break.[176]

70) The secretary, Sa'īd b. Ḥumaid [177] said: These are some of the things a penman must

[165] Cf. Baihaḳī, I, 8; Ṣūlī, 41; Yāḳūt, *Irshād,* XX, 7.

"Division" could refer to the proper distribution of the words at the ends of the lines, rather than to word division. The word faṣl may also refer to paragraphs, cf. Baṭalyawsī, 68. Cf. also below No. 69.

[166] Cf. Ṣūlī, 89, where this saying is quoted as a verse by the poet Abu 'l-Shibl al-Burdjumī.

[167] I.e.: "Working in his office," or "writing at his dictation."

[168] Cf. Rāghib, I, 68. With the inclusion of the following sentence the preceding part of this saying is also mentioned by Ṣūlī, 54; Ḳalḳ., II, 440.

[169] From the provinces of Fars and, presumably, al-Bahrain, which, however, is known to have the nisba al-Baḥrānī. These are the low countries along the shore of the Persian Gulf. Nabataean, on the other hand, refers to inland Babylonia. Ibn al-Mudabbir, 23 f., expresses himself in favor of the Baḥrī as against the Fārisī calamus. Cf. also Lakhmī, fol. 9b.

[170] A little piece of a hard material upon which the calamus is placed for cutting the point. For the above passage, cf. 'Almawī, 133.

[171] As a technical term in calligraphy, ishbā' is mentioned by Āmulī, I, 12; Sirādj al-Ḥasanī, fol. 163a; and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, III, 156. According to the definition given by Āmulī, the term refers to producing an even proportion of thinness and thickness of the parts of the individual letters. There appears to exist some uncertainty with regard to the correct form of the term. The lithograph edition of Āmulī and four of the manuscripts of the work in Oxford and Paris have isbāgh; three leave the matter open by adding a diacritical point only to the *b,* and only one (MS or. Bodl. Elliott 274, fol. 9b–10a) has ishbā'. The other two authors have ishbā'.

[172] For the last sentence of this saying, cf. above No. 22, and *'Iḳd,* II, 156; Tha'ālibī, *Thimār,* 48; Ikhtiyār al-Dīn, 127.

[173] A secretary of al-Wāthiḳ, and brother of the vizier, Sulaimān (ninth century).

[174] Lit., "upon mounting. . . ." Cf. Ibn Ḳutaiba, *'Uyūn,* 48 (a verse by Abū Tammām); al-Sarī al-Raffā', 170; Tha'ālibī, *Tatimma,* I, 12 and II, 84; Yāḳūt, *Irshād,* XVII, 200.

[175] *Rasm.* Is the symmetrical distribution of the text on the page meant, as in No. 12?

[176] Cf. No. 66. Cf. *'Iḳd,* II, 156; Sharīshī, I, 96; Nuwairī, VII, 20.

[177] Cf. *Fihrist,* 179.

know. He must hold the calamus at that part of it at which it is most suitable to hold it and which is as distant from the ink as possible. He must give the calamus a lot of the land of writing paper.[178] He must not write with the defective side of the edge of the calamus. He must apply to it [179] the fairest standards and use the best measurements [180] for its form, so that nobody might feel any desire for an inferior (handwriting ?) and that no aspiration for a superior one might enter one's mind. He must distribute it evenly on the line, and he must execute it so as to be in keeping with the vowel signs (?) he is going to apply. He [181] must connect one letter with the other according to the rules which he has previously laid down with regard to the narrowness and width of the letters. He must not break up a word and write one of its letters on another line. He must arrange the beginnings and ends of the writing of his manuscript symmetrically. He must not embellish it improperly, but he must not deny it that (embellishment) to which it is entitled. Otherwise its elegance will be left behind, and its symmetry will be destroyed.

71) Salm al-Ḥarrānī [182] said: Perfume your literary notebooks with black ink.[183]

72) Al-'Attābī [184] watched a bookdealer who was engaged in copying. Since he did not like his handwriting, he said to him: Cover up your ugly handwriting with black ink,[185] for much deformity (?) deserves much blackness.

73) Al-Ma'mūn said: The stars of wise sayings (shine) in the darkness of ink.[186]

74) Al-Manṣūr said: These wise sayings might be lost. Therefore, appoint the books their guardians, and the (vowel) signs (?)[187] their shepherds.

75) Ibn al-Taw'am said: If you provide the words which contain the identical consonant skeleton [188] with vowel signs, they [189] cannot avoid being correct.

76) Abdallah b. Ṭāhir wrote the following note on the back of a memorandum which someone had handed him: Very beautifully written indeed, except that the writer used too many diacritical points.[190]

77) Ibn Thawāba [191] said: The use of diacritical points prevents misunderstandings.[192]

78) According to what his son 'Īsā told us,

[178] Ḳirṭās may refer to papyrus. If the above translation is correct, the author might have intended to say that a penman should have an ample supply of paper on hand. Or does he mean that the proper space on the surface of the page should be allotted to the writing (cf. footnote 175)?

[179] The pronoun appears to refer to handwriting, and not to the calamus.

[180] In Ṣūlī, 148 f., maḳādīr seems to refer to the size of the writing (or the paper).

[181] The remainder of this saying is in Ṣūlī, 54.

[182] Chief of al-Ma'mūn's *Bait al-Ḥikma*.

[183] Cf. *'Iḳd*, II, 157; Rāghib, I, 69; Sharīshī, I, 96; Lakhmī, fol. 15b.

[184] Abū 'Amr Kulthūm b. 'Amr (d. 823–24). Al-'Attābī's description of the calamus is reproduced by Ḥuṣrī, II, 236.

[185] Cf. Rāghib, I, 69.

[186] Cf. Ikhtiyār al-Dīn, 127.

[187] Leg.: "The calami." Cf. Māwardī, 19 (Cairo, 1315), p. 33.

[188] For this meaning of *ḳarā'in*, cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, II, 339.

[189] Leg.: "You . . ."?

[190] Cf. *'Iḳd*, II, 157; Rāghib, I, 61; Nuwairī, VII, 13; Tāshk., I, 51; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, III, 155.

Too meticulous an application of diacritical points is considered an affront to the reader, since it implies that he is unable to understand a text without the help of those points. For shūnīz: nuḳaṭ, cf. Ibn al-Mudabbir, 25; *'Iḳd*, II, 147; Lakhmī, fol. 19a; and the footnote to Nuwairī, VII, 13.

[191] Probably the best known member of the family, Abu 'l-'Abbās Ahmed, cf. footnote 58.

[192] Cf. Tha'ālibī, *Khāṣṣ*, 52; *idem*, *Tamthil*, MS Paris, fol. 59a; Māwardī, 22; Rāghib, I, 60; Nuwairī, VII, 13; 'Almawī, 135.

The Arabic play on words relieves the saying of its trivial character.

the vizier, Ali b. ʿĪsā [193] said: Writing provided with diacritical points is like artistically designed cloth.[193a]

79) Abdallah b. Ṭāhir made the following note to a memorandum handed him by someone who had used too much sand on it: If he had enclosed enough soap for us to clean our clothes from the sand in his memorandum, we would have complied with his request.[194]

80) Abū Aiyūb al-Mūriyānī [195] said: Embellish unvocalized [196] knowledge with vowel signs, and thus fortify it against the doubts of misreading.[197]

81) Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās said: The calamus does the speaking for a silent person and brings information from him who is speechless. It interprets the ideas of the hearts and tells about hidden thoughts. It provides the opportunity for discussing things in spite of local distances and the resulting difficulty of getting together. Information written down with the calamus will not be interrupted, and the imprints of the calamus will not be effaced. The calamus speaks and is silent. It stays in one place and travels. It is present and absent. It is far away and near at hand. If it is set in motion, it goes forth, and if it is called, it comes. It keeps secrets concealed, and it can be trusted not to cause any harm.

82) The vizier, Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik said: A manuscript that is provided with diacritical points is Arabic; one that is not, is Nabataean.

83) Saʿīd b. Ḥumaid said: He who follows a path without signposts goes astray, and he who reads a handwriting without diacritical points slips.

84) ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd said: Barren soil is something desolate. A flower garden, on the other hand, is something pretty, and when it is in bloom, its beauty is perfect. Thus a handwriting without dots and diacritical points is like barren soil. On the other hand, a handwriting that is provided with dots and diacritical points is like a garden in bloom.[198]

85) Ibn Thawāba said: Vowel signs have the same significance for a manuscript which white spots on the feet have for horses.[199]

86) Sahl b. Hārūn said: A bad handwriting is a long and debilitating disease for an educated person,[200] and an improper manner of expressing himself is a black mark for a man of thought and feeling.

87) Al-Ḥasan b. Wahb, looking at the handwriting of a certain penman, said: This is the resort of enamored eyes, and the fruit garden of joyful speech.[201]

88) ʿUbaidallāh b. Abī Rāfiʿ [202] said: When I was writing for Ali b. Abī Ṭālib—God, He is exalted, honor him—, he said to me: O ʿUbaid-

[193] Ali died in 946, and his son in 1001.

[193a] Cf. Thaʿālibī, *Tamthīl*, MS Paris, fol. 59a; Māwardī, 22.

[194] Cf. Rāghib, I, 61.

The sentimental lover of the eighteenth century also complained about the use of sand as a blotter, but for a different reason: "Um eins bitte ich Sie: keinen Sand mehr auf die Zettelchen, die Sie mir schreiben. Heute führte ich es schnell nach der Lippe, und die Zähne knisterten mir." Goethe, *Werther* (Buch I, 26 Julius).

[195] The vizier, who died in 770–71.

[196] Or: "Without diacritical points . . ."?

[197] Cf. Nuwairī, VII, 13.

[198] A saying attributed to Euclid, in Hunain, 153 contains a different comparison of handwriting with a garden in bloom.

[199] According to the lexicographers there is a difference of opinion as to whether shikāl add to, or detract from, the beauty of horses, cf. Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Adab al-kātib*, 145. Cf. also Damīrī, I, 268, *s.v.* khail.

[200] Cf. *ʿIḳd*, II, 156; Ṣūlī, 52; *Fihrist*, 16; Thaʿālibī, *Tamthīl*, 20; *idem*, *Khāṣṣ*, 54; Māwardī, 21; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, II, 179 f. Cf. also above No. 25.

[201] Cf. Rāghib, I, 60; Lakhmī, fol. 16a.

[202] ʿUbaidallāh is one of the secretaries of Ali. His name is frequently given as Abdallah, cf. Björkman, *op. cit.* (footnote 8), 57, but Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, VII, 11 (Hyderabad, 1325–27) has ʿUbaidallāh. Cf. also Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Maʿārif*, 71 f.

allāh, use cotton [203] for your inkstand, lengthen the edge of your calamus, leave intervals between your lines, keep your letters close together,[204] and preserve the equilibrium.

89) Abū Sulaim (?)[205] said: I used to prepare copies of the Koran. Ali b. Abī Ṭālib—God show favor unto him—passed by me and said: Make your calamus thick. I broke a piece off and, then, went on writing. He said: Good so! Illuminate it even as God illuminated it.[206]

90) Ibn Sīrīn [207] said: He did not like the Koran to be written in mashḳ,[208] because this entails coarseness and clumsiness.[209]

91) 'Omar b. al-Khattab—God show favor unto him—misread a passage in a document written by a secretary of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, and he wrote to him: I am sending you a whip. He, however, said: No, the whip might (rather) be used on you, for he had written Allah in a mutilated manner (?). (So he wrote back: I [you?] am [are?]) the writer who deserves the heaviest whipping.[210]

92) Ibrāhīm (. . .)î said: Whoever is gifted with intelligence in his soul, with eloquence in his tongue, with handwriting in his hand, with graciousness in his bearing, and with elegance in his character is provided with an orderly array of all good qualities and with a great profusion of all virtues. The only obligation that remains for him is to give thanks, and how could he do that sufficiently!

93) 'Ubaidallāh b. al-Ḥasan al-'Anbarī [211] said: I never read a manuscript written in a good style without my heart being satiated (?) with joy, and I never saw a beautiful handwriting without my eye being filled with pleasure.

94) Al-Mutawakkil, looking at the handwriting of Ahmed b. al-Khaṣīb [212] and finding it ugly, said: How great is the power of God to do what He pleases! This man combines all kinds of shameful qualities under his skin: Natural depravity, inability to express himself, unorthodoxy, bad manners, a homely face, and an ugly handwriting. Whoever keeps company with him is, I think, in a bad spot, and exposed to contagion.[213]

95) I saw the geometer, Abu'l-Wafā' [214] say to Ibn Sa'dān: [215] By God, O vizier, your handwriting is the limit of beauty, and your style

[203] Other objects, too, are used for stirring up the ink, cf. Ṣūlī, 99, and Ibn Durustawaih, 94.

[204] Cf. Djahsh., fol. 10b; Rāghib, I, 61; Sharīshī, I, 95; 'Āmilī, *Mikhlāh*, 5. For the meaning of the two preceding clauses, cf. also Djahsh., fol. 75a; Ṣūlī, 60 and 72; Baṭalyawsī, 94. For the last three clauses of the saying, cf. Āmulī, I, 11.

[205] Leg. Ḥukaima, with the parallel passages (footnote 206) which attribute this saying to Abū Ḥukaima al-'Abdī?

[206] In the context the suffix would seem to refer to the calamus, which is mentioned in the Koran. However, according to the parallel passages (Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *Maṣāḥif*, 130 f., and Suyūṭī, *Itḳān*, 868), the suffix refers to copies of the Koran.

Suyūṭī indicates that his sources were Abū 'Ubaid b. Sallām, *Faḍā'il al-Ḳur'ān*, and al-Baihaḳī, *Al-Djāmi' al-muṣannaf, fī shu'ab al-imān*. Both works are unavailable to me. Cf. also Lakhmī, fol. 9b.

[207] Muhammad b. Sīrīn (d. 728).

[208] Cf. *'Iḳd*, II, 156. For mashḳ, cf. footnote 48.

[209] Cf. Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *Maṣāḥif*, 134, and Suyūṭī, *Itḳān*, 869. The parallel passages show that "he" refers to Ibn Sīrīn. Our text may be slightly in disorder.

[210] Reference to a simpler form of this story is made by Ṣūlī, 129. The above translation is doubtful.

In Arabic literature wide currency is given to a story in which al-Ash'arī is blamed by Omar for employing a Christian secretary. That story obviously is a later expression of Muslim opposition to the employment of Christians in secretarial positions. There is no connection between that story and our saying.

[211] The politically prominent cadi, who died in 785.

[212] The vizier of al-Mustanṣir and al-Musta'īn.

[213] Cf. No. 53.

[214] Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Būzadjānī (d. 997 or 998). Al-Tawḥīdī composed the *Imtā'* for him.

[215] Abu Abdallah al-Ḥusain b. Ahmed b. Sa'dān (d. 985). Upon his suggestion al-Tawḥīdī wrote the *Kitāb al-ṣadāḳa*.

could not be more perfect. Why, then, do you enlist the help of Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābi' for your correspondence with Ibn 'Abbād? [216] Ibn Sa'dān replied: Ibn . . . [217] hunts very eagerly after mistakes and enjoys very much to discover a *faux-pas*. I would not like him to shoot me and not merely wound me superficially but actually kill me while he is a spectator. I would rather not use my own handwriting and speech and thus save my intellect and honor than suffer at being needled by him [218] and being kicked in his presence and absence. It is healthier for me to have someone else take my place and myself to vanish like a mirage and to be left alone than . . . to stay insulted and frightened.

The Sheikh Abū Ḥaiyān says: Here ends the treatise devoted to the detailed description of handwriting and calamus. If we would say more, it would be dull and boring. I hope that the jealous concern which this treatise has for your approval will strengthen my claim to your consideration and esteem. Farewell!

[216] The famous *Ṣāḥib*, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād (d. 995).

[217] Hw'd may be corrected to 'Abbād. Or may we assume that Hawwād "very much of a Jew," was a mocking imitation of the name 'Abbād "very much of a pious person"?

[218] The author probably thought of the sting of the scorpion.

* رسالة أبى حيّان الصوفىّ
فى علم الكتابة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه الثقة

قال الشيخ أبو حيّان علىّ بن محمّد بن العبّاس التوحيدىّ الصوفىّ البغدادىّ رحمة الله عليه .

كنت ـ أطال الله بقاءك وأدام سرورك ـ يوما من الأيّام عند بعض الرؤساء وجرى كلام فى نعت الخطّ وشرح أقسامه وتفصيل فنونه ووصف مذاهب أصحابه من أهل العراق وغيرهم وكان هذا الرئيس ذا خطّ معجز منه وكان عديم المساجل عليه .

فانبريت بكلام كنت وعيت جلّه من البربرىّ أبى محمّد المحرّر عندنا ببغداد وكان مبرّزا فى صناعته وارثا لها (١) من أبيه وعمّه ـ والعرق إذا وشج على شىء من الفضائل والرذائل أتى بالغرائب وأوفى على العجائب ـ ووصلت ذلك بما كنت سمعته من الأفاضل وأصحاب الأقلام البارعة وأرباب الخطوط اليانعة ممّا التقطته (٢) أيدى الأقلام من ترتيب الحروف على أحسن نظام من رقّة اللطافة ودقّة الظرافة ممّن تقدّموا وكانت العبرة فى زمانهم بتحسين قواعد الخطّ الكوفىّ بأنواعه وهى اثنا عشر (٣) قاعدة : الإسماعيلىّ والمكّىّ والمدنىّ والأندلسىّ والشأمىّ والعراقىّ والعباسىّ والبغدادىّ والمشقّب والريحانىّ والمجرّد والمصرىّ فهذه هى الخطوط العربيّة التى كان منها ما هو مستعمل قديما ومنها قريبة (٤) الحدوث وأمّا هذه الطرائق المستنبطة فهى مرويّة عن الصحابة حتّى اتّصلت بابن مقلة وياقوت ⟨وغيرهم وهم⟩ تفنّنوا فيها بحسب اجتهادهم .

وكنت ـ أطال الله بقاءك ـ فى مجلس ابن البربرىّ وقد حفل بأرباب الأقلام والخطوط وصار كل (٥) منهم يظهر مخبّآته من النوادر .

(١) فقال أحدهم : خير الأقلام ما استمكن نضجه فى جرمه وجفّ ماؤه فى قشره وقطع بعد إلقاء بزره وصلب شحمه وثقل حجمه .

(٢) وقال آخر : إنّ القلم المحرّف يكون الخطّ به أضعف وأحلى والمستوى أقوى وأصفى والمتوسّط بينهما يجمع أحد حاليهما وما كان فى رأسه طول فهو يعين اليد الخفيفة على سرعة الكتابة وما قصر فبخلافه .

(٣) وقال آخر : البرى على أربعة أقسام :

الفتح وهو فى القلم الصلب أكثر تقعيرا والرخو أقلّ والمعتدل بينهما .

والنحت نوعان : نحت حواشيه ونحت بطنه أمّا حواشيه فيكون مستويا من جهة السنّين معا ولا يحيف (٦) على أحد الشقّين فتضعف سنّه وتكون شحمة القلم فى بطنه متساويا وأن يكون الشقّ متوسّطا لجلفة القلم دقّ أو غلظ .

وأمّا الشقّ فباعتبار الأقلام إن كان صلبا فيشقّ أكثر الجلفة وإن كان رخوا يكون مقدار ثلث الجلفة وإن كان معتدلا يتوسّط .

وأمّا القطّ فأنواع : محرّف ومستو (٧) وقائم ومصوّب وأجود⟨ها⟩ المحرّف المعتدل ومنهم من ينتمى إلى تدوير القطّ ويمدحها (٨) ويرغب فيها وأعنى بالمدوّرة أن لا يظهر لها تحريفا (٩) وأن يكون وضع يدك بالسكّين على الاستواء لا يميل إلى جهة بشىء البتّة والقائم أن يكون استواء القشرة والشحمة معا والمصوّب بالنسبة إلى الشحمة أو القشرة غير محمود .

(٤) وقال المدقّق الفاضل الوزير الكاتب أبو (١٠) علىّ بن مقلة فى وصف القلم : أطل الجلفة وحسّنها وحرّف القطّة وأيمنها والقطّ هو الخطّ .

والكاتب يحتاج إلى سبعة معان : الخط المجرّد بالتحقيق والمحلّى (١١) بالتحديق والمجمّل بالتحويق والمزيّن بالتخريق والمحسن بالتشقيق والمجاد بالتدقيق والمميّز بالتفريق فهذه أصوله وقواعده المتضمّنة لفنونه وفروعه وكلّ قلم يظهر له العمل على قدره ـ والورد كفاء صدره إن شاء الله .

أمّا المجرّد (١٢) بالتحقيق فإبانة الحروف كلّها منثورها ومنظومها مفصّلها وموصّلها بمدّاتها وقصراتها

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* The letters "MS" refer to the Viennese manuscript.

١ له MS
٢ MS through correction
٣ اثنى عشر MS ; ? اثنتا عشرة *Leg.*
٤ ? ⟨ما هو⟩ قريب *Leg.*
٥ ? كل ⟨واحد⟩ *Leg.*
٦ ?? يحنف *Leg.*
٧ ومستوى MS
٨ ويمدها MS *sic !*
٩ ? تحريف *Leg.*
١٠ ابى MS
١١ والمحلا MS
١٢ ?? المراد *Leg.*

فهذه جملة كافية متى كان طبع الكاتب مؤاتيا وفعله مواطئا وقريحته عذبة وطينته وطئة .

(٥) وسمعت الأعسر الخطاط أبا الحسن يقول : الخطّ أربعة أقسام فالأوّل هو المحقّق بالقلم الغليظ والوسط والدقيق محرّفا أو مقوّما ثمّ الشبيه به فى هذه الأقلام ثمّ المرسل بهذه الأقلام ثمّ الشبيه به فيها قال فاجتهد أن لا يكون الغليظ من الأقلام جافيا ولا الوسط منها منافيا ولا الدقيق منها ضعيفا .

(٦) وقال المدرّس بباب الطاق يوما لابن الخلّال الورّاق : يا هذا إذا حرّفت القلم فلا تثقّل عليه يدك وإذا قوّمته فلا تخفّفها عنه وعيب خطّك مع حلاوته أنّ شحمة قلمك زائدة على الحاجة ولك فيه خطرفة (١٧) تدلّ على قلّة المبالاة فلا تفعل فإنّ سطرا من التحسين أنفع لك وأنفق عليك من عشر ورقات فى التشمير .

(٧) وسمعته يقول يوما آخر : الخطّ بالحبر فى الجملة مفسدة .

(٨) وسمعت ابن سورين الكاتب يقول : الناس يظنّون أنّ إدمان المشق مجوّد للخطّ فلم أجد هذا الحكم منتظما بالصواب ولا مطمئنّا إلى الحقّ ولا ملقيا بالقبول لأنّ الإدمان للمشق موالاة الحركة بالحركة مع تفاوت النسب وذلك مجلبة للشعث لأنّه يصدر عن كلالة اليد وربّما أورث القلم طغيانا أو أحدث فى الأداة عصيانا .

(٩) وسمعت علىّ بن جعفر الكاتب للطائع وكان حسن الخطّ يغلب عليه التدوير يقول (١٨) : لا شىء أنفع للخطّاط من أن لا يباشر شيئا بيده في رفع ووضع خاصّة إذا كان ذلك الشىء ثقيلا فإنّ الحركات إذا تمثّلت بالحروف والحروف إذا اندفنت فى الحركات كانت الصور الخطّيّة والحروف الشكليّة محفوظة الأعيان بامتلائهما بهما محروسة الأبدان بانتسابهما إليهما قال ولقد رفعت يدى بسوطى إلى الدابّة مرارا فى بعض هذه الأيّام وقتعتها به فتغيّر خطّى مدّة .

فحكيت ذلك لأبى سليمن فقال : لله درّه لكأنّما اشتقّ هذا الوصف من الموسيقار لأنّه يزن الحركات المختلفة فى الموسيقى فتارة يخلّط الثقيلة بالخفيفة وتارة يجرّد وتفريجاتها وتعريجاتها حتّى تراها كأنّها تبتسم عن ثغور مفلّجة أو تضحك عن رياض مدبّجة .

فهذا ما يعمّ الحروف كلّها عمّاء فأمّا ما يختصّ واحدا واحدا منها فسأقوله على أثر هذا .

وأمّا المراد بالتحديق فإقامة الحاء والخاء والجيم وما أشبهها على تبييض أوساطها (...) محفوظة (١٣) عليها من تحتها وفوقها وأطرا(فها كا)نت مخلوطة بغيرها أو بارزة عنها حتّى تكون (١٤) كالأحداق المفتّحة .

وأمّا المراد بالتحويق فإدارة الواوات والفاءات والقافات وما أشبهها مصدّرة وموسّطة ومذنّبة بما يكسبها حلاوة ويزيدها طلاوة .

وأمّا المراد بالتخريق فتفتيح وجوه الهاء والعين والغين وما أشبهها كيف ما وقعت أفرادا وأزواجا بما يدلّ الحسّ الضعيف على اتّضاحها وانفتاحها .

وأمّا المراد بالتعريق فإبراز النون والياء وما أشبههما (١٥) ممّا يقع فى أعجاز الكلمة مثل من وعن وفى ومتى وإلى وعلى بما يكون كالمنسوج على منوال واحد .

وأمّا المراد بالتشقيق فتكتّف الصاد والضاد والكاف والطاء والظاء وما أشبه ذلك ممّا يحفظ عليها التناسب والتساوى فإنّ الشكل بهما يصحّ ومعهما يحلو والخطّ فى الجملة كما قيل هندسة روحانيّة بآلة جسمانيّة .

وأمّا المراد بالتنميق فتعميم الحروف كلّها مفصولها وموصولها بالتصفية وحياطتها من التفاوت فى التأدية ونفض (١٦) العناية عليها بالتسوية .

وأمّا المراد بالتوفيق فحفظ الإستقامة فى السطور من أوائلها وأواسطها وأواخرها وأسافلها وأعاليها بما يفيدها وفاقا لا خلافا .

وأمّا المراد بالتدقيق فتحديد أذناب الحروف بإرسال اليد واعتمال سنّ القلم وإدارته مرّة بصدره ومرّة بسنّه ومرّة بسنّيه ومرّة بالاتّكاء ومرّة بالإرخاء بما يضيف إليها بهجة ونورا ورونقا وشذورا .

وأمّا المراد بالتفريق فحفظ الحروف من مزاحمة بعضها لبعض وملابسة اوّل منها لآخر ليكون كلّ حرف منها مفارقا لصاحبه بالبدن مجامعا له بالشكل الأحسن .

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١٣ ؟ (غي)ر محفوظة MS
١٤ يكون MS
١٥ اشبهها MS
١٦ ؟ ??; ؟ نقص *Leg.*
١٧ خظرفة MS
١٨ ؟ ويقول MS

إبرهيم بن العبّاس وكان ضعيفا جدّا ولكنّه كان شديد الحلاوة قهّارا (٢٦) للعيون قال ورأيت خطّ ذى الرئاستين وكان (٢٧) نهاية لكنّه كان لا يكتب بالقلم الأوسط ولا الدقيق قال وليس لأهل المشرق ولا لأهل المغرب خطّ موصوف .

(١٥) قال لنا أبو عبد الله بن الزنجيّ الكاتب ورأيته بآذربيجان يكتب لإبرهيم بن المرزبان السلّار (٢٨) يقول: أصلح الخطوط وأجمعها لأكثر الشروط ما عليه أصحابنا بالعراق فقلت: ما تقول فى خطّ ابن مقلة ؟ قال: ذاك نبيّ فيه أفرغ الخطّ فى يده كما أوحى إلى النحل فى تسديس بيوته .

(١٦) وقلت لابى الجمل وكتب لشاشنيكير نصر (٢٩) الدولة : بأىّ شىء تفرق بين خطّ أهل الجبل وخطّ أهل العراق ؟ قال: بما لا يخفى على ذى حسّ ولا يحتاج فيه إلى شكّ وحدس خطّ أصحابنا مسفر ناضر وخطّ أهل الجبل . . . . (٣٠) واذا اتّفق فيه قويم كان كالخطأ فى طيّ الصواب ثمّ لا يكون لذلك رونق لتأهّب الحروف الباقية وكلّ شىء مستغرق فى أشياء فلا بهجة له .

(١٧) وسمعت أبا تمّام الزينبيّ وكان حسن الخطّ بديع البلاغة يقول وقد قيل له: أنّى لك هذا الخطّ وهذه البلاغة ؟ فقال: أمّا الخطّ فإنّى تقيّلت فيه ابن مقلة أبا علىّ وإن كنت بعيدا من شأوه غير شاقّ لغباره وأمّا البلاغة فالعرق الهاشمىّ أنجب والاقتداء ببنى ثوابة أفاد .

وإن ذهبت أحكى جميع ما وعيت من سادة هذا الشأن وكبراء هذه الصناعة طال وكثر وأروى لك فى هذا الخفيفة من الثقيلة وتارة يرفع إحداهما (١٩) على صاحبتها بزيادة نقرة أو نقصان نقرة ويمرّ فى أثناء الصناعة بألطف ما يجد (٢٠) من الحسّ فى الحسّ ولطيف الحسّ متّصل بالنفس اللطيفة كما أنّ كثيف النفس متّصل بلطيف (٢١) الحسّ وكان كلامه أبلغ من هذا ولكن له موضع هو أولى به .

(١٠) وسمعت أبا إسحق الصابىء يقول: ما حرّرت كتابا قطّ عقيب التسويد إلّا ورأيت التنافر فى خطّى والتطاير من قلمى والتثاقل (٢٢) فى يدى فأمّا إذا جممت بعده جتّة أو نمت بعده نومة فأنا على صواب ما أريد منه جرىّ ومن الخطأ فيه برىّ .

(١١) وسمعت الزهرىّ يقول وكان لحق ابن مقلة وابن الزنجىّ وبنى الثوابة : من حقّق الحروف المفصّلة تحقيقا ثمّ وصل الواحد منها بالثانى ثمّ وصل الاثنين بالثالث ثمّ وصل الثلثة بالرابع على هذا إلى آخر متّصل بالكلمة كقولهم فسيكفيكهم ويستنصرون والاستعلام والاستفهام والاستقامة والاستنامة وخجخج (٢٣) وجحجبا والاستنجاح والجحاجحة والصيادنة والصياقلة والصقالبة والغطارفة والطراخنة والبطارقة ووقف على المتماثلين مثل حططت وخططت وقططت ونصص وحصص وقصص واستنصح واستصحب وتكوكب واستنجح واستصلح واستقبح واستشرح وما أشبه هذا فإنّه كثير رجوت له أن يبلغ من رسم الخطّ الذروة العالية قال وملاك الأمر تقويم أعجاز السطور وتسوية هوادى الحروف وحفظ التنسيق وقلّة العجلة وإظهار القدرة فى عرض الاسترسال وإرسال اليد فى طىّ الاقتدار .

(١٢) وسمعت العسجدىّ يقول: للخطّ ديباجة فتساويه وأمّا وشيه فشكله وأمّا التماعه فمشاكلة بياضه لسواده بالتقدير وأمّا حلاوته فافتراقه فى اجتماعه .

(١٣) وسمعت ابن المرزبان الكاتب البليغ (٢٤) يقول: الخطّ هندسة صعبة وصناعة شاقّة لأنّه إن كان حلوا كان ضعيفا وإن كان متينا كان مغسولا وإن كان جليلا كان جافيا وإن كان دقيقا كان منتشرا وإن كان مدوّرا كان غليظا فليس يصحّ له شكل جامع لصفاته الكبر (٢٥) والصغر إلّا فى الشاذّ المستندر .

(١٤) وسمعت ابن المشرّف البغدادىّ يقول: رأيت خطّ أحمد بن أبى خالد كاتب المأمون وكان ملك الروم يخرجه فى يوم عيده فى جملة زينته ويعرّضه على العيون قال وكانت ألفاته ولاماته على غاية الانتصاب والتقوّم ولم أجد فى جميع حروف خطّه عيبا إلّا فى الواوات الموصولة والياءات المفصولة قال ورأيت خطّ

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١٩ احديهما MS

٢٠ ? يوجد *Leg.*

٢١ بكثيف *Leg.*

٢٢ والتشاقل MS

٢٣ ? وخجنخج MS It is not altogether certain; whether or not the diacritical points that are used here in connection with this word and some of the following words represent the intention of the author.

٢٤ الكاتب البليغ MS Vindob. add. in marg.

٢٥ الكبر الكبر MS

٢٦ ?

٢٧ فكان MS

٢٨ السلار MS

٢٩ نصير MS

٣٠ ?? كمد جاف عليه نبوّ MS

(٣١) وقال جعفر بن يحيى : الخطّ سمط الحكمة به تفصّل شذورها وينظّم منثورها ويؤلّف بددها ويكتنف (٣٣) مددها .

(٣٢) وقال النمرىّ : الأقلام مطايا الفطن وبرد القرائح وطلائع الألباب .

(٣٣) وقال جبل بن يزيد : القلم لسان البصير يناجيه بما استتر من الأسماع ويناغيه بما استثار من الطباع ويحدّثه بما حدث وكان فى البقاع .

(٣٤) وقال عبد الحميد بن يحيى كاتب مروان : القلم شجر ثمرته اللفظ والفكر بحر لؤلؤه الحكمة والبلاغة منهل فيه (٣٤) ريّ العقول الظامئة والخطّ حديقة زهرتها الفوائد البالغة .

(٣٥) وقال ابن المقفّع : القلم بريد العلم يخبّ بالخبر ويجلّى مستور النظر ويشحذ كليل الفكر ويجتنى من مشقه ثمرة الغير والعبر .

(٣٦) وقال أبو دلف العجلىّ : القلم صائغ الكلام يفرغ ما يجمعه القلب ويصوغ ما يسبكه اللبّ .

(٣٧) وقال هشام بن الحكم : الخطّ حلى تصوغه اليد من تبر العقل وقصب يحوكه القلم بسلك الحذق .

(٣٨) وقال فيلسوف يونان : بنور الخطّ تبصر الحكمة وبرفق القلم تصوّر السياسة .

(٣٩) وقال ثمامة : ما أثرته الأقلام لم تطمع فى دروسه الأيّام .

(٤٠) وقال هشام بن عبد الملك : الخطّ صورة ضئيلة لكن لها معان جليلة وشبح (٣٥) حقير لكن له شأن كبير .

(٤١) وقال صاحب الطاق : ربّ خطّ جاف عن العيون قد ملأ أقطار الظنون .

(٤٢) وقال هاشم بن سالم : صورة المداد في الأبصار سوداء ولكنّها فى البصائر بيضاء .

(٤٣) وقال بشر بن المعتمر : القلب معدن والعقل جوهر واللسان مستنبط والقلم صائغ والخطّ صيغة .

(٤٤) وقال سهل بن هرون : القلم أنف الضمير إذا رعف أعلن أسراره وأبان آثاره وأشاع أخباره .

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٣١ لصل MS

٣٢ وتقو MS

٣٣ ? ; ? ويكشف *Leg.*

٣٤ وفيه MS

٣٥ ? وشيخ

الجزء فقرا للحكماء والعلماء تتّصل (٣١) بوصف الخطّ وتفيد دربة لطالبه حتّى تصير محذّرا به على التنافس فيه واقتباس الخطّ الأوفي بحوله وقوّته والمدار على الطبع المنقاد والإرادة القويّة والتأييد السابق .

(١٨) قال بعض السلف : الخطّ الحسن يزيد الحقّ وضوحا .

(١٩) وقال قتادة فى قوله جلّ ثناءه « يزيد فى الخلق ما يشاء » قال : الخطّ الحسن .

(٢٠) وروى عن وهب قال : إنّ رجلا كتب بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم فاحسن تمطيطه وتخطيطه فغفر الله له .

(٢١) وقال عمر بن الخطّاب رضى الله عنه : شرّ القراءة الهذرمة وشرّ الكتابة المشق .

(٢٢) وقال عمر : أحسن الخطّ أبينه وأبين الخطّ أحسنه .

(٢٣) وقال عبّاس : الخطّ لسان اليد والبلاغة لسان العقل والعقل لسان المحاسن والمحاسن كمال الانسان .

(٢٤) وقال الحكيم الأوّل : القلم أحد اللسانين كما قيل : قلّة العيال أحد اليسارين .

(٢٥) وقيل لنصر بن سيّار : فلان لا يخطّ . قال : تلك الزمانة الخفيّة .

(٢٦) وقال ابن الزيّات الوزير : بالقلم تزفّ بنات العقول إلى خدور الكتب .

(٢٧) وقال ابن التوأم : خطّ القلم يقرأ بكلّ مكان وفى كلّ زمان ويترجم بكلّ لسان ولفظ اللسان لا يجاوز الآذان ولا يعمّ الناس بالبيان ولولا الكتاب لاختلفت أخبار الماضين وانقطعت أنباء الغابرين وإنّما اللسان للشاهد لك والقلم للغائب عنك وللماضى والغابر بعدك فصار نفعه أعمّ والدواوين إليه أفقر والملك المقيم بواسطة بلاده لا يدرك مصالح أطرافه وسدّ ثغوره وتقويم (٣٢) مملكته إلا بالكتاب ولولا الكتاب لما استقرّ التدبير ولا استقامت الأمور .

(٢٨) وقال إسمعيل بن صبيح الثقفىّ : عقول الرجال تحت أسنان أقلامها .

(٢٩) وقال علىّ بن عبيدة : القلم أصمّ ولكنّه يسمع النجوى وأبكم ولكنّه يفصح عن الفحوى وهو أعيا من باقل ولكنّه أفصح وأبلغ من سحبان وائل يترجم عن الشاهد ويخبر عن الغائب .

(٣٠) وقال أحمد بن يوسف كاتب المأمون : ما عبرات الغوانى فى خدودهنّ أحسن من عبرات الأقلام فى بطون الكتب .

والخطّ مخدوم القلم والمعنى جود العقل والبلاغة زينة الجملة .

(٦٠) وقال جالينوس : القلم طبيب الخطّ والخطّ مدبّر النفس والمعنى عين الصحّة .

(٦١) وقال بلیناس : القلم الطلسم الأكبر والخطّ نتيجته .

(٦٢) وقال ارسطاطاليس : القلم العلّة الفاعلة والمداد العلّة العنصريّة والخطّ العلّة الصوريّة والبلاغة العلّة التماميّة .

(٦٣) وقال ملك يونان : أمر الدنيا تحت شيئين أحدهما تحت الآخر السيف والقلم والسيف تحت القلم .

(٦٤) وقال الإسكندر : لولا القلم ما (٤٠) استقامت المملكة وكلّ شيء تحت العقل واللسان لأنّهما الحاكمان على كلّ شيء والمخبران عن كلّ شيء والقلم يريكهما شكلين ويشهدكهما (٤١) صورتين .

(٦٥) وزعم المنجّمون أنّ القلم تقّاع فى حساب الجمل .

(٦٦) وقال يحيى بن خالد : الخطّ صورة فروحها البيان ويدها السرعة وقدمها التسوية وجارحتها معرفة الفصل .

(٦٧) وقيل لأعرابيّ : كيف ترى إبرهيم بن العبّاس في كتابته ؟ فقال : يثجثج(؟) (٤٢) اللؤلؤ المنثور منطقه فى الخطب وينظّم الدرّ بالأقلام فى الكتب .

(٦٨) وقال إبرهيم بن العبّاس لغلام بين يديه : ليكن قلمك صلبا بين الدقّة والغلظ ولا تبره عند عقدة فإنّ فيه (٤٣) تعقيد الأمور ولا تكتب بقلم ملتو ولا ذى شقّ ⟨غير⟩ (٤٤) مستو فإن أعوزك الفارسيّ والبحريّ واضطررت إلى الأقلام النبطيّة فاختر منها ما يضرب إلى السمرة واجعل سكّينك (٤٥) أحدّ من الموسى ولا تبر

(٤٥) وقال أعرابيّ ونظر إلى أحمد بن أبى خالد وهو يكتب : الدواة منهل والقلم وارد والكتاب عطن .

(٤٦) وقال المأمون : الخطّ روضة العلم وقلب الفهم وفنن الحكمة وديباجة البيان .

(٤٧) وقال إبرهيم بن جبلة : مرّ بى عبد الحميد الكاتب وأنا أخطّ خطّا ردئا فقال : أتحبّ أن يجود خطّك ؟ قلت : نعم . قال : قلمك أطل جلفته وأعد قطّته . ففعلت فجاد خطّى .

(٤٨) ونظر جعفر بن يحيى إلى خطّ حسن فقال : لم أر باكيا أحسن تبسّما من القلم .

(٤٩) ونظر المأمون إلى مؤامرة بخطّ حسن فقال : لله درّ القلم كيف يحوك وشى المملكة ويطرز أطراف الدولة ويقيم أعلام الخلافة .

(٥٠) ودخل كاتب لعمرو بن العاص على عمر فقال له : ألست ابن القين بمكّة ؟ قال : بلى . قال له (٣٦) عمر : لا يلبث القلم أن يبلغ بصاحبه .

(٥١) وكان الرشيد معجبا بخطّ إسمعيل بن صبيح فقال لأعرابيّ : صف لى إسمعيل فى كتابته فقال : ما رأيت أطيش من قلمه ولا أثبت من حكمه فقال : أحسنت يا أعرابيّ وأمر له بمال .

(٥٢) وقال الفضل بن يحيى : رداءة الخطّ إحدى الفدامتين كما قالوا : حسن الخطّ إحدى البلاغتين .

(٥٣) ونظر عبد الله بن طاهر إلى خطّ كاتب فلم يرضه قال : نحّوا هذا عن مرتبة الديوان فإنّه عليل الخطّ ولا يؤمن أن يعدى غيره .

(٥٤) ورفع معبد بن فلان رقعة إلى عبد الله بن طاهر بخطّ قبيح فوقّع فيها : قد أردنا قبول عذرك فأقطعنا دونه ما قابلنا من قبح خطّك ولو كنت صادقا فى اعتذارك لساعدتك حركة يدك أو ما علمت أنّ حسن الخطّ يناضل عن صاحبه ويوضح الحجّة ويمكنه من درك البغية ؟

(٥٥) وتخايرا (٣٧) غلامان فى خطّهما إلى سهل بن هرون فقال لأحدهما : أمّا أنت فخطّك تبر مسبوك وقال للآخر : أمّا أنت فخطّك وشى محبوك (٣٨) تكافأتما إلى نهاية وتوافيتما على غاية .

(٥٦) وقال اقليدس : الخطّ هندسة روحانيّة ظهرت بآلة جسديّة .

(٥٧) وقال اوميرس : الخطّ شيء أظهره العقل بواسطة الحسّ فى القلم فلمّا قابل النفس عشقته بالعنصر الأوّل .

(٥٨) وقال افلاطون : القلم عقال العقول والخطّ بسط الحسّ والمدرك به مراد النفس .

(٥٩) وقال مودوطيس (٣٩) : القلم قيّم الحكمة

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٣٦ لله MS

٣٧ وتخاير MS

٣٨ محوك : *ʿIḳd*, Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*

٣٩ *sic*

٤٠ MS

٤١ ويشهدكما MS

٤٢ ? يسحسح or ; يسجسج MS ; ينظم : Ṣūlī

٤٣ فيها MS ; فيه Ḳalḳ.

٤٤ ⟨ ⟩ Ṣūlī, Rāghib, Ḳalḳ.

٤٥ سكينك MS

(٨٠) وقال أبو أيّوب الموريانى: حلّوا عواطل العلم بالتقييد وحصّنوها من شبه التحريف .

(٨١) وقال إبرهيم بن العبّاس: القلم ينطق عن الساكت ويخبر عن الباهت ويترجم عن القلوب ويطّلع على الغيوب ويشافه على بعد الدار وتناءى المزار لا تنقطع اخباره ولا تدرس آثاره ناطق ساكت مقيم مسافر شاهد غائب ناء حاضر إن استنهض بادر وإن دعى أحضر كتوم السرّ مأمون الشرّ .

(٨٢) وقال محمّد بن عبد الملك الوزير: الكتاب المعجم هو العربىّ وغير المعجم هو النبطىّ .

(٨٣) وقال سعيد بن حميد: من سلك طريقا بلا أعلام ضلّ ومن قرأ خطّا بلا إعجام زلّ .

(٨٤) وقال عبد الحميد: الأرض الملساء وحشة والروضة الزهراء بهجة فإذا نوّرت فقد انتهى حسنها وكذلك الخطّ بلا نقط ولا إعجام كالأرض الملساء والمنقوط المعجم كالروضة المنوّرة .

(٨٥) وقال ابن ثوابة: الشكل للكتاب كالشكل للدوابّ .

(٨٦) وقال سهل بن هرون: سوء الخطّ زمانة الأديب وقبح العبارة وصمة على اللبيب .

(٨٧) ونظر الحسن بن وهب إلى خطّ كاتب فقال: هذا متنزّه اللحظ الغنج ومجتنى اللفظ البهج .

(٨٨) وقال عبيد الله بن أبى رافع: كنت أكتب لعلىّ ابن أبى طالب كرّم الله تعالى وجهه فقال لى: يا عبيد الله ألق دواتك وأطل سنّ قلمك وفرّج بين سطورك وقرمط حروفك والزم الاستواء .

(٨٩) وقال أبو سليم (٥١): كنت أكتب المصاحف فمرّ بى علىّ بن أبى طالب رضى الله عنه فقال: أجلل (٥٢) قلمك فقصمت منه قصمة (٥٣) ثمّ كتبت فقال: نعم هكذا نوّره كما نوّره الله .

(٩٠) وقال ابن سيرين: كان يكره أن يكتب القرآن مشقا لأنّ فى ذلك تعجرفا وخرقا .

به غير القلم وتعهّده بالإصلاح وليكن مقطّك أصلب الخشب لتخرج القطّة مستوية وابر قلمك بين التحريف والاستواء وإذا كتبت الدقيق فأمل قلمك إلى الاستواء لإشباع الحروف وإذا أجللت فإلى التحريف وأجود الخطّ أبينه وأجود القراءة أبينها .

(٦٩) وكان الحسن بن وهب يقول: يحتاج الكاتب إلى خلال منها تجويد برى القلم وإطالة جلفته وتحريف قطّته وحسن التأنى لامتطاء الأنامل وإرسال المدّة بقدر إشباع الحروف والتحرز عند إفراغها من التطليس وترك الشكل على الخطأ والإعجام على التصحيف وتسوية الرسم والعلم بالفصل وإصابة المقطع .

(٧٠) وقال سعيد بن حميد الكاتب: من أدب الكاتب أن يأخذ القلم فى أصلح أجزائه وأبعد ما يمكن من موضع المداد فيه ويعطيه من أرض القرطاس خطّة ولا يكتب بالطرف الناقص من سنّه ويضعه على عيار قسطه ويصوّره بأحسن مقاديره حتّى لا يقع التمنّى لما دونه ولا يخطر بالبال شأو ما فوقه ويعدّله فى سطره (٤٦) ويشبّهه بما يأتى من شكله ويقرّن الحرف بالحرف على قياس ما مضى من شرطه فى تقريب مساحته وتبعيد مسافته ولا يقطع الكلمة بحرف يفرده فى غير سطره ويسوّى أضلاع خطوط كتابه ولا يحلّيه بما ليس من زيّه ولا يمنعه ما هو له بحقّه فتختلف حليته وتفسد قسمته .

(٧١) وقال سلم الحرّانىّ: عطّروا دفاتر آدابكم بسواد الحبر .

(٧٢) ونظر العتّابىّ إلى ورّاق يخطّ فلم يرتض خطّه فقال له: . . . (٤٧) رداءة خطّك بسواد حبرك فإنّ شدّة (القى)ح (٤٨) أولى بشدّة السواد .

(٧٣) وقال المأمون: كواكب الحكم فى ظلم المداد .

(٧٤) وقال المنصور: إنّ هذه الحكم تندّ فاجعلوا الكتب لها حماة والاعلام (٤٩) عليها رعاة .

(٧٥) وقال ابن التوأم: شكّلوا قرائن الآداب لا تنفر (٥٠) عن الصواب .

(٧٦) ورفع رجل قصّة إلى عبد الله بن طاهر فوقّع على ظهرها: ما أحسن ما كتب لولا أنّه أكثر شونيزه .

(٧٧) وقال ابن ثوابة: إعجام الكتاب يمنع من استعجامه .

(٧٨) وقال علىّ بن عيسى الوزير على ما حدّثنا به ابنه عيسى: الخطوط المعجمة كالبرود المعلمة .

(٧٩) ورفع رجل إلى عبد الله بن طاهر قصّة قد أكثر ترابها فوقّع فيها: إن ضمن لنا من الصابون ما نغسل به ثيابنا من تراب قصّته قضينا حاجته .

---

٤٦ ؟شطره MS

٤٧ ؟ اغتفر MS ; أخف Rāghib:

٤٨ ( )ح MS *in marg.*

٤٩ الأقلام *Leg.*

٥٠ ؟ تنفروا *Leg.*

٥١ حكيمة Ibn Abī Dāwūd, Suyūṭī:

٥٢ اجل Ibn Abī Dāwūd, Suyūṭī:

٥٣ ؟ فقضمت . . . قضمة

بترك اعتمال خطّى ولفظى أحبّ إلىّ من أن أصبر ملسوعا بإبرته (مكسو)عا بحضرته وبه(ده و)لأن يقوم غيرى مقامى ف(أنا أ)كون مريّها مو(دو)عا (٥٩) أسلم من أن الف(. . . .)ام اعرى (٦٠) وأبقى مسفّها مروّعا .

قال الشيخ أبو حيان هذا انتهى القول فى الخطّ وصفاته والقلم وحالاته وإن زدنا على ذلك ثقل وملّ وأرجو أن تغيّره من رضاك يكون لى سببا قويّا في المكانة من قبلك والقبول فى نفسك ـــ والسلام .*

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٥٤ ؟ ف(كتب اليه انا [انت]) *Leg.*
٥٥ ؟ وهله MS ; ؟ من هو له *An leg.*
٥٦ ؟ واعشت MS
٥٧ *sic !*
٥٨ ؟ واما MS
٥٩ ؟ مر(يّ)عا *Leg.*
٦٠ ؟

* *In fine*: تمّت الرسالة والحمد لله وحده وصلّى الله على سيّدنا محمّد وآله الطاهرين وصحبه الأكرمين وسلامه على الفقير إلى الوهّاب الغنيّ إبرهيم بن الحسن البوّاب البغداديّ فى أواخر شهر رمضان المعظّم سنة ثمان (ثمانى MS) وعشرين وسبعمائة ربّ اختم بالخير .

(٩١) وقرأ عمر بن الخطّاب رضى الله عنه من خطّ كاتب لأبى موسى الأ(شعر)يّ لحنا فكتب اليه : قد أرسلت لك سوطا وقال بل فى حقّه إليك فكتب له الله محذوفا ف(. . .) (٥٤) أضرب كاتب سوطا .

(٩٢) وقال إبرهيم (. . .)يّ : من وهب له (٥٥) العقل فى نفسه والبلاغة فى لسا(نه) والخطّ فى يده و(السمت فى هيأته) والحلاوة فى شمائله فقد نظمت له المحاسن نظما ونثرت عليه الفضائل نثرا وبقى عليه الشكر وأنّى له بذلك ؟

(٩٣) وقال عبيد الله بن الحسن العنبريّ : ما قرأت كتابا بليغا إلّا وأعشب (٥٦) فؤادى سرورا ولا رأيت خطّا حسنا إلّا وامتلأت عينى قرورا .

(٩٤) ونظر المتوكّل إلى خطّ أحمد بن الخصيب فرآه ردئا فقال : ما أقدر الله ما يشاء لقد جمع هذا الرجل فرق الخزى فى جلدته خبث الطبع وسفه اللسان وفساد العقيدة وسوء المعاملة وقبح الوجه ورداءة ا(لخطّ إ)نّى أظنّ أنّ جليسه معه فى بلوى ومخوف ع(لى)ه العدوى .

(٩٥) ورأيت أبا الوفاء المهندس يقول لابن سعدان : والله أيّها الوزير إنّ خطّك فى الغاية وإنّ (بلاغتك ف)ى النهاية فما الذى يدعو إلى الاستعانة بالصابىء أبى إسحق فى مكاتبة ابن عبّاد ؟ فقال : إنّ ابن هواد (٥٧) كثير التتبّع للعيب شديد الشماته بالعاثر وأنا (٥٨) أكره أن يرمينى فيصمى ولا يشوى ولأن أحصّن عقلى وعرضى

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Tawḥīdī, *Muḳābasāt:* ed Hasan al-Sandūbī (Cairo, 1347).
Tawḥīdī, *Ṣadāḳa:* Cairo, 1323.
Tha'ālibī, (d. 1038), *Īḏjāz:* Istanbul, 1301.
Tha'ālibī, *Ḫāṣṣ:* Cairo, 1326.
Tha'ālibī, *Tamṯīl:* Istanbul, 1301. Cf. also MS Paris ar. 5914.
Tha'ālibī, *Tatimma:* ed. Abbas Eghbal (Tehran, 1934).
Tha'ālibī, *Ṯimār:* Cairo, 1326.
Yāḳūt (d. 1229), *Iršād:* Cairo, n.d. (1355–57).

TESSONS DE RAKKA

PAR J. SAUVAGET

RAKKA (AL-RAḲḲA) CONSERVE UN DES PLUS IMportants ensembles de ruines musulmanes qui soient dans tout le Proche-Orient.[1] Placées sur la rive gauche de l'Euphrate, non loin de son confluent avec le Balīkh, en retrait de la zone inondable et au-dessus d'une dépression marécageuse qui a valu à la localité son nom arabe (*raḳḳa* = terrain bas en bordure d'un fleuve), ces ruines comprennent (*Fig. 1*).

1°.—Vers l'Est, les vestiges de la plus ancienne agglomération (*Nikephorion,* Rakka proprement dite), qui a été habitée sans interruption depuis l'époque hellénistique jusqu'au début du treizième siècle. Il n'en subsiste d'autres restes apparents que des fragments de son mur d'enceinte (faces Nord et Est), établi sur plan quadrangulaire et bâti en couches alternées de béton de galets et de briques (*Fig. 6*), technique caractéristique des constructions de Justinien.[2] La grande-mosquée, dont F. Sarre et E. Herzfeld avaient encore vu le minaret et quelques autres vestiges, a aujourd'hui disparu jusqu'à sa dernière brique.

2°.—A un kilomètre et demi à l'Ouest, la ville d'al-Rāfiḳa ("la compagne" de Rakka), fondée par le calife al-Manṣūr en 155 H.=772, qui ne tarda pas à devenir le centre vital de l'agglomération. Il en reste le rempart, la citadelle, la grande-mosquée (restaurée au douzième siècle par Nūr al-Dīn), et les débris, chaque jour plus dégradés, d'un petit palais du dixième siècle. En dehors de l'enceinte, vers le Nord-Est, un tombeau monumental, composé de deux salles carrées à coupoles jumelées, ne s'est écroulé qu'à une date récente. Tout le terrain à l'intérieur de l'enceinte a été bouleversé par les chercheurs de briques et les fouilleurs clandestins.

Devant la porte orientale d'al-Rāfiḳa s'était constitué, en direction de Rakka, un faubourg dont on distingue parfaitement sur le terrain plusieurs rues, dont trois s'écartant en éventail en partant de l'enceinte; criblé d'excavations par les chercheurs de briques, ce faubourg est réduit à ses fondations et ne laisse reconnaître aucune construction importante: il n'en présente pas moins, comme on le dira ci-dessous, un intérêt archéologique certain.

Au Nord de la ville, en dehors de l'enceinte, une surface considérable est occupée par des ruines, invisibles au sol, dont l'existence n'a été reconnue que par l'observation aérienne.[3] De part et d'autre d'un canal dérivé de l'Euphrate, on reconnaît là des constructions très diverses, mais généralement d'une échelle énorme (*Fig. 5*). La plus remarquable est un grand palais, caractérisé par sa double enceinte et quatre salles rectangulaires se raccordant en croix: comme ce dispositif est bien attesté à Sāmarrā (Djawsaḳ, Balkuwārā), on peut supposer sans invraisemblance que c'est la résidence califienne dans laquelle séjourna Hārūn al-Rashīd. Ailleurs, on distingue des pavillons fermant la perspective d'un jardin clos qui se développe sur 500 ou 600 m. de longueur, des rues droites bordées d'habitations, des greniers. Cet ensemble, qui occupe une superficie au moins deux fois plus

[1] E. Honigmann a donné dans l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islām,* s. *al-Raḳḳa,* une notice historique détaillée et une bibliographie complète, à laquelle on ajoutera désormais K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* (Oxford, 1940), II.

[2] La réfection du rempart par Justinien est mentionnée par Procope (*De aed.,* II, 7); la technique est identique à celle de plusieurs ouvrages fortifiés de la région (v. J. Sauvaget, "Les Ghassanides et Sergiopolis," *Byzantion,* XIV [1939], 122, n. 1).

[3] Elles avaient été repérées et photographiées dès 1924 par le Capitaine Bertrand et les Lieutenants Lenoir et Mulot, de l'escadrille de Rakka, auxquels je dois d'en avoir eu alors connaissance.

considérable que celle de la ville dans les murs, doit probablement être attribué à la même époque qu'elle, bien qu'il puisse s'y trouver des constructions plus anciennes. On est en droit d'attendre beaucoup de l'exploration archéologique qui s'impose.[4]

3°.—A l'Ouest, complètement en dehors de l'agglomération, les ruines (Hiragla) d'un petit château musulman de plaisance, en pierre et brique, situé dans une enceinte circulaire de jardins.

D'une très grande valeur du point de vue de l'archéologie monumentale, cet ensemble intéresse également au premier chef l'histoire de la céramique, car Rakka passe pour avoir été un grand centre de fabrication de poteries. A vrai dire, en l'absence de fouilles systématiques, cette réputation se fondait surtout sur les dires—toujours sujets à caution—des marchands d'antiquités; la prospection du site par F. Sarre [5] en établit cependant le bien fondé. Les visites successives que j'ai faites à Rakka m'ont mis en présence de témoignages indubitables de l'importance de l'industrie céramique dans cette ville, notamment dans le faubourg de l'Est, où l'on rencontre en nombre plus élevé que partout ailleurs des débris caractéristiques: matériel d'en-

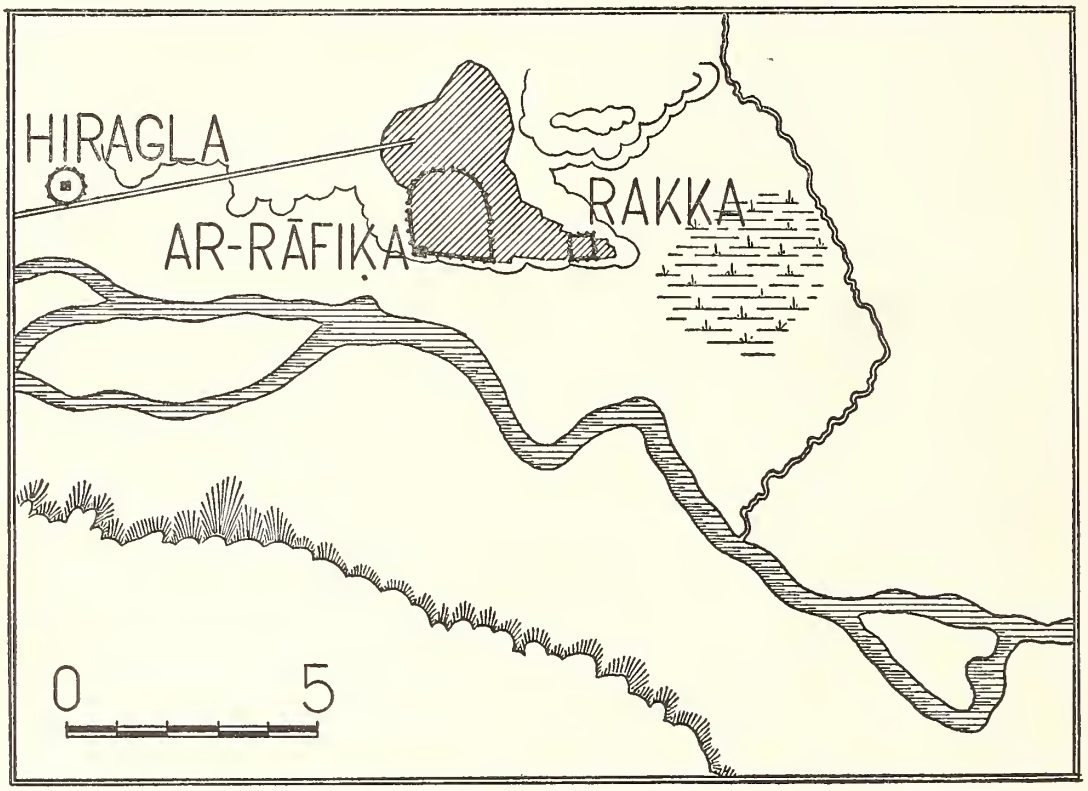


Fig. 1—La Site Archéologique de Rakka

[4] Depuis que ces lignes ont été écrites, le Service des Antiquités de la République Syrienne y a fait entreprendre des sondages dont les résultats n'ont pas été encore publiés.

[5] F. Sarre, "Die Keramik im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet," in F. Sarre et E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise* ... (Berlin, 1920), IV, 20–25.

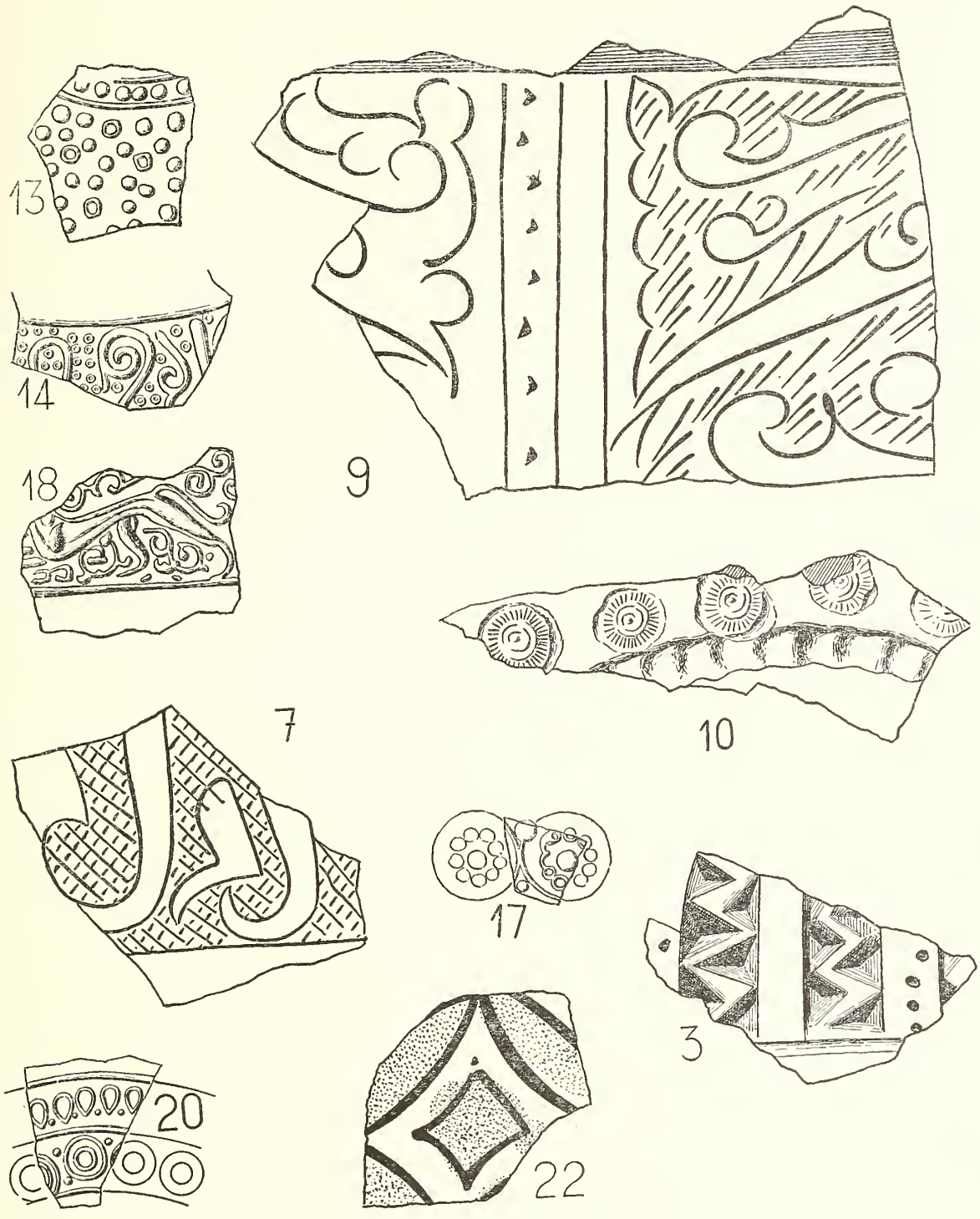


FIG. 2—TESSONS DE RAKKA

fournement (disques et colonnettes de terre cuite portant des coulées de glaçure, colifichets), pièces déformées, collées, ou brûlées par un coup de feu, traces de fours (masses de vitrifications provenant de la sole). A n'en pas douter, ce faubourg groupait un grand nombre d'ateliers. En 1924, M. E. de Lorey, Directeur de l'Institut français de Damas, que j'accompagnais, a fait dégager à l'intérieur de l'enceinte d'al-Rāfiḳa le foyer d'un four, qui apportait quelques indications sur ces installations [6]: ménagé dans le sol, le foyer était accessible par une rampe en plan incliné qui se développait entre deux murs de soutènement en briques, écartés de 2 m.65. Le four était également construit en briques (*Fig. 7*). A l'extrémité inférieure de la rampe s'ouvrait, sous un défoncement de la façade couronné par un arc, la porte du foyer, haute de 1 m.20, large de 0 m.70, et pourvue d'un seuil de 30 cm. de haut. Le foyer, de plan elliptique, mesurait 2 m.50 de profondeur, suivant son grand axe longitudinal, et 1 m.40 de largeur, suivant son axe grand transversal; il était couvert par une voûte très surbaissée (hauteur au centre: 1 m. 50), dont l'extrados formait la sole, et dans laquelle se distribuaient sans régularité quelques ouvertures destinées à laisser passage aux flammes (une au centre, les autres contre les parois). La surface de la voûte et les parois du foyer étaient recouvertes de coulées accumulées de glaçure. Aucun vestige de la chambre de cuisson n'a été retrouvé: on peut cependant affirmer que ce four était du même type que ceux qui ont été découverts à Damas, dans le faubourg de potiers de la Porte Orientale.[7] C'est le type du four romain.[8]

D'innombrables tessons, exhumés par les chercheurs de briques et laissés par eux sur place (seules, les pièces intactes, ou à peu près complètes, sont vendues aux marchands d'antiquités d'Alep) jonchent le sol d'al-Rāfiḳa et de son faubourg Est. Durant mes séjours successifs à Rakka il m'a paru utile d'en recueillir d'une manière systématique, de manière à établir un inventaire aussi exact que possible de la production céramique de la ville, connue presque uniquement, jusqu'ici, par des attributions douteuses. Sans doute, les conditions dans lesquelles ces tessons sont déterrés ne livrent-elles pas tous les éléments requis d'appréciation: les excavations pratiquées par les habitants pour retirer des briques n'intéressent généralement que les couches superficielles du terrain; les trouvailles faites à des profondeurs différentes se trouvant rejetées pêle-mêle à la surface du sol, on est sevré d'indications chronologiques. Cependant, l'aire bouleversée est si considérable, les types de poteries mis au jour sont si nombreux que ces fragments doivent nous donner une idée assez complète des divers genres de poteries en usage à Rakka; la comparaison avec d'autres sites qui ont fait l'objet de fouilles méthodiques [9] fournit d'autre part des points de repère qui permettent d'esquisser un classement chronologique.

A l'exception des n° 22, 23 et 38, qui ont été trouvés dans les ruines d'un village de banlieue, situé au bord du Balīḫ, tous les fragments cités ici proviennent d'al-Rāfiḳa ou de son faubourg Est: la ville proprement dite de Rakka ne m'a fourni aucun tesson, lacune particulièrement regrettable, puisque l'on pouvait espérer, en raison

[6] Les résultats de ce sondage n'ont jamais été publiés: j'emprunte les éléments de cette description à mes souvenirs personnels et aux archives de l'Institut français de Damas.

[7] Inédits eux aussi (relevés à l'Institut français de Damas).

[8] L. Franchet, *Céramique primitive* (Paris, 1911), Fig. 24.

[9] Baalbek=*Baalbek:* H. Kohl, D. Krencker, O. Reuther, F. Sarre et M. Sobernheim, *Ergebnisse des Ausgrabungen . . .* (Berlin-Leipsig, 1925), t.III.
Égypte=Musée de l'Art Arabe, *La Céramique égyptienne à l'époque musulmane* (Bâle, 1922).
Euphrate = F. Sarre, *op. cit.*
Hama = H. Ingholt, *Rapport préliminaire sur la première campagne de fouilles de Hama* (Copenhague, 1934);

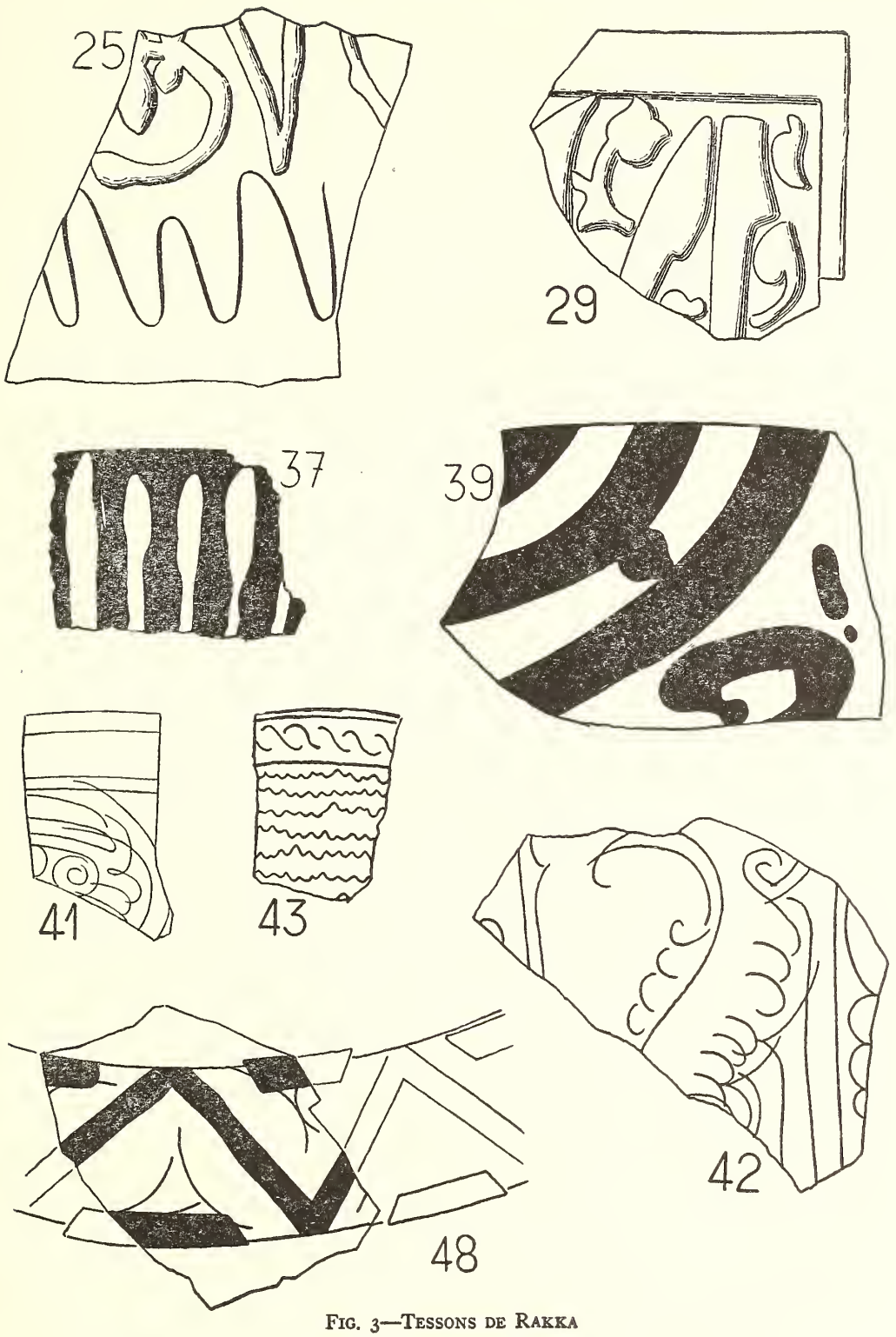


FIG. 3—TESSONS DE RAKKA



FIG. 4—TESSONS DE RAKKA

de la plus grande ancienneté du site, y recueillir quelques débris de céramiques remontant aux origines de la période musulmane. Sauf quelques-uns qui appartenaient à l'Institut français de Damas,[10] tous les tessons décrits étaient demeurés en ma possession: ils sont aujourd'hui déposés à l'Institut de Céramique française (à la Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres), où leur examen technique a été entrepris par M. Munier.

A. CÉRAMIQUE NON GLACÉE

Les poteries communes comptent parmi les séries qui témoignent le mieux de la maîtrise et de l'ingéniosité techniques des potiers mésopotamiens. Les fragments présentés ici révèleront quelle richesse de procédés a été mise en oeuvre pour orner ces humbles accessoires de la vie quotidienne.

Poteries Décorées à la Main

Des fragments recueillis, les uns (n° 1) appartiennent à de grandes jarres à eau [11] ou à leurs supports, les autres (n° 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 11) à des marmites cylindriques d'un diamètre intérieur voisin de 36 cm.: leurs parois, très épaisses (de 10 à 18 mm.), sont faites d'une pâte grise ou jaunâtre, d'une texture relativement fine et serrée, et recouvertes extérieurement d'un engobe blanchâtre. D'autres fragments (n° 4 à 6) proviennent de "gargoulettes," petites aiguières à main, à parois plus minces (3 à 5 mm.), en terre jaunâtre ou rouge-brun à engobe blanc.

1. Fragment de col de jarre décoré de rangées horizontales de cupules faites dans la pâte avec le bout du doigt [12]: leur implantation a été réglée par des lignes horizontales tracées à la pointe et au tour (*Fig. 8*).

2. Fragment de marmite; décor de zigzags superposés obtenus par grattage (au doigt?) (*Fig. 8*).

3. Fragment de marmite; entre des bandes verticales alternativement lisses et chargées de points, zigzags en champlevé, exécutés à l'ébauchoir (*Figs. 2* et *8*).

4. Fragment de petite aiguière; bandes verticales à la pointe mousse, et zigzags exécutés avec un ébauchoir à bout carré (*Fig. 8*).

5, 6. Fragment de petite aiguière; décor d'incisions fines et nettes, pratiquées avec une pointe très aigüe, et d'incisions superficielles, floues, pratiquées avec une pointe mousse.

7. Fragment de marmite; décor incisé à la pointe: inscription sur fond quadrillé. Les incisions sont si profondes qu'elles ont çà et là déterminé les lignes de rupture de la paroi (*Fig. 2*).

8. Fragment de vase indéterminé; décor de

Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab., Archaeologisk-Kunst-historiske Meddeletser, I, 3.

Kish=G. Reitlinger, "Islamic Pottery from Kish," *Ars Islamica*, II (1935), 198–218.

Samarra I = F. Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra. Ausgrabungen von Samarra* (Berlin, 1925), t.II.

Samarra II = Iraq Government, Department of Antiquities, *Excavations at Samarra, 1936–1939* (Baghdad, 1940), t. II: objects.

Suse = R. Koechlin, *Les Céramiques musulmanes de Suse au Musée du Louvre, Mém. de la mission archéol. en Perse* (Paris, 1928), t. XIX.

Je renverrai en outre aux ouvrages généraux suivants, que je citerai sous le nom de leurs auteurs:

Hobson = British Museum: R. L. Hobson, *A Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Near East* (Londres, 1932).

Kühnel = E. Kühnel, *Islamische Kleinkunst* (Berlin, 1925).

Migeon = G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman: arts plastiques et industriels* (2e éd.; Paris, 1927), t. II.

Pope = A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* (Oxford-New York, 1938–39), 6 vol.

[10] Parmi les tessons conservés à l'Institut français de Damas, je n'ai fait état que de ceux dont je peux personnellement garantir qu'ils proviennent bien de Rakka. Il ne m'a paru nécessaire de cataloguer ici tous les fragments que j'avais recueillis: j'ai écarté ceux qui faisaient double emploi sans apporter d'indication utile.

[11] Exemples: Kühnel, Fig. 42; Government of Iraq, Department of Antiquities, *A Guide to the Arab Museum at Khan Marjan in Baghdad* (Baghdad, 1938), Pl. 21–23; Euphrate, Pl. 143–44.

[12] Cf. *Guide to the Arab Museum* . . . ., Pl. 22.

lignes parallèles, tracées au peigne, et de points à la pointe mousse.

9. Fragment de marmite; bandeau horizontal au peigne, défoncements triangulaires à l'ébauchoir et décor incisé à la pointe (*Fig. 2*). Sur la profondeur des incisions, même remarque que pour le n° 7.

Décor à la Matrice [13]

10. Fragment de marmite; décor rapporté à la barbotine: ruban, ondulé par pression des doigts, et pastilles chargées d'un décor à la matrice (*Figs. 2* et *8*).

11. Fragment de marmite; dans un champ limité par une moulure en saillie rapportée à la barbotine et chargée de pastilles ornées à la matrice, ornements géométriques incisés à la pointe et décor imprimé à la matrice (deux matrices: cercle, et rosette à six rais). En dehors du champ, décor au peigne (*Fig. 8*).

D'autres champs de ruines de la région (al-Ruṣāfa-Sergiopolis, Bālis) montrent encore un autre procédé de décoration: de menus fragments de céramique à glaçure bleu-turquoise sont enfoncés dans la pâte à certaines places du décor modelé, formant le centre d'un motif géométrique ou les yeux d'un animal.

Ceramique Moulée

Plus que tous les autres, les ateliers mésopotamiens ont pratiqué d'une manière courante, et sur une large échelle, la fabrication au moule des poteries.[14] Ceux de Rakka n'ignoraient pas cette technique, comme l'attestent de nombreux tessons provenant pour leur grande majorité (n° 12 à 19) de petites aiguières à anse et à panse sphérique moulée, munie d'un large col et d'un piédouche haut faits au tour.[15] D'autres (n° 20), d'un nombre trop restreint pour être vraiment représentatif d'une production qui a dû être très abondante, appartiennent à des gourdes, plates ou bombées.[16] Un autre enfin (n° 21), trouvé sur le site d'un village de banlieue, et qui est peut-être antérieur à l'époque musulmane, est un débris de lampe du type antique. Pichets et gourdes sont faits de la même pâte, rougeâtre ou grise engobée de blanc, que la série précédente; l'épaisseur de leurs parois varie de 4 à 6 mm. Les motifs ornementaux qui les décorent sont extrêmement variés, comme l'attesteront les quelques échantillons reproduits ici (*Figs. 2* et *8*).

B. CÉRAMIQUE GLACÉE

Céramique Partiellement Glacée

Un fond de jatte hémisphérique à piédouche bas, en terre rouge, provenant des ruines d'un village de la banlieue de Rakka (n° 22) est orné sur sa face interne de motifs géométriques noirs, posés à cru, et grossièrement remplis d'un vernis plombeux vert, en couche mince (*Figs. 2* et *8*).

On comparera avec intérêt ce tesson à ceux de Suse et de Sāmarrā [17] où la glaçure est employée pour la seule décoration d'une poterie commune, sans viser à son imperméabilisation.

[13] Cf. Samarra I, n° 25, 47 et Suse, Pl. III, n° 31, avec des décors très différents de ceux qu'on observe ici.

[14] Cf. Baalbek, pp. 118–23; Euphrate, Pl. 115; Kish, p. 215; Samarra I, n° 4807; Suse, n° 38 (Pl. 5). Même décor de jeu de fond à Rakka (n° 15) et à Baalbek (Pl. 19, n° 27).

[15] Un excellent type de ces vases: Kühnel, Fig. 41.

[16] Sur ces gourdes, v. mes *Poteries syro-mésopotamiennes* (Paris, 1932). M. Wiet n'admet pas sans réserve (*Syria*, XIV [1933], 415) ce que j'avais dit là de la dénomination "gourde de pèlerin," que j'estimais abusive. Je persiste cependant à croire que cette dénomination est injustifiée, car elle ne se base sur rien d'autre que la ressemblance entre ces vases et les ampoules, pleines d'eau du Jourdain, ou d'autres reliques, que les pèlerins européens du Moyen-Age rapportaient de Terre-Sainte: ces véritables "gourdes de pèlerin" (ainsi nommées pour les différencier de nos gourdes usuelles, faites d'une courge séchée) ne sont qu'un cas particulier d'utilisation de la gourde antique, familière à tous voyageurs. Des plates de gourdes décorés, détachés du reste de l'objet, ont été pris pour des couvercles de jarre: M. S. Dimand, *A Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts* (2e éd.; New York, 1944), Fig. 127.

[17] Samarra I, n° 121–24; Suse, n° 72–81.

Décor Peint sur Engobe et sous Glaçure

Un tesson unique (n° 23), trouvé en banlieue, appartient à un bol tronconique, en terre rouge, à parois épaisses, recouvert extérieurement d'un engobe d'ocre rouge orné, sur la face interne du vase, d'un décor de traits et de virgules tracé au pinceau avec une bouillie claire d'argile jaune clair (ocre jaune). L'humidité du sol a entièrement fait disparaître la glaçure, réduite à quelques traces imperceptibles et à un reflet irisé (*Fig. 9*).

Technique et décor sont également caractéristiques de la céramique sāmānide du Khorassan,[18] dont les fouilles de Nīshāpūr ont récemment fourni des échantillons remarquables.[19] Le fragment de Rakka provient sans doute d'un objet d'importation, plutôt que d'une production locale dont on ne connaîtrait par ailleurs nul exemple. On peut l'attribuer, grosso modo, au dixième siècle.

Glaçure Monochrome

Les céramiques à glaçure monochrome appartiennent à deux groupes:

a)—le premier est représenté par quatre fragments (n° 24 à 27) de *pithoi* à parois très épaisses (10 à 17 mm.), en terre friable et sableuse, jaunâtre, voire franchement jaune, recouverts intérieurement et extérieurement par une couche épaisse d'une glaçure colorée, d'un aspect très "gras," dans laquelle les aspérités de la paroi créent çà et là de petits trous ou des plages moins copieusement recouvertes. Cette glaçure se détache du flanc du vase par larges plaques; son épaisseur et sa teinte font qu'elle dissimule parfaitement le grain de la poterie et empâte le décor modelé. Son coloris, à base de vert de cuivre, est très inégal: d'une pièce à l'autre il varie du vert foncé au bleu-vert pâle, et se change même en gris, clair ou très foncé, sur la face interne du vase (*Figs. 3* et *9*).

Cette céramique, qui prolonge une technique antique (sassanide, parthe) est largement attestée dans toutes les fouilles d'Irak [20]: ici même, le fait qu'elle est représentée à al-Rāfiḳa, qui est une fondation musulmane, conduit à l'attribuer aux premiers siècles de l'Islam (neuvième siècle ?).

b)—Le second groupe (n° 28 à 33) comprend des poteries à parois épaisses, faites d'une terre comparable à celle du groupe précédent mais dont la glaçure, encore très grasse, mais moins épaisse, est fortement craquelée, et sujette à s'altérer par irisation après un long séjour dans le sol. Elle est colorée en bleu-turquoise éclatant, d'une grande pureté de ton. La date des fragments qui portent un décor caractéristique peut-être fixée à la seconde moitié du douzième siècle.[21]

28, 29. Fragment de supports de jarres carrés, ou de petites tables, avec décor d'inscriptions sur fond d'ornement floral (*Figs. 3* et *9*).

30. Rebord de jatte orné d'une ligne ondulée entre deux horizontales (*Fig. 9*).

31. Fragment de carreau de revêtement ou de dallage, trapézoïdal, d'une épaisseur considérable (35 mm.): la glaçure recouvre une des grandes faces et la tranche qui correspond au grand côté du trapèze (*Fig. 9*).

32, 33. Fragments de la même qualité mais en terre moins friable, presque parfaitement blanche, identique à celles des poteries à décor gravé qui seront présentées ci-dessous.

[18] Hobson, p. 21; Kühnel, p. 87; Migeon, p. 176; Pope, II, 1473 sq.; Suse, n° 109–10; Kish, p. 215.

[19] J. M. Upton, "The Persian Expedition 1934–1935. Excavations at Nīshāpūr," *Bull. Metropolitan Mus. Art,* XXXI (1936), 176 ff.

[20] Suse, n° 42–70 et surtout n° 67 (Pl. 8); Samarra I, n° 90–112; Samarra II, Pl. 56–59. Cf. F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (Paris, 1926), p. 460 et Fig. 62–63; Hobson, Fig. 1, qui proviendrait de Rakka, et p. 20; Kish, p. 204; Hama, p. 38; Euphrate, Pl. 143.

[21] Cf. Kühnel, Fig. 40, qui se range précisément dans ce groupe. Autres exemples: Euphrate, Pl. 117.

Décor Jaspé [22]

Tous les tessons qui constituent ce groupe présentent la même terre rouge, à engobe blanc; sauf dans les pièces de petites dimensions (nos 35, 36) leurs parois restent épaisses (plus de 5 mm.). Les six fragments recueillis relèvent de six procédés différents d'ornementation:

34. Fond de petit bol sans piédouche: sur la face interne, décor de *taches* vertes sur fond jaune pâle (*Fig. 9*).

35. Fragment de petite écuelle à rebord rectiligne. Sur fond crème, *marbrures* vertes coulant vers le fond du vase (*Fig.9*).

36. Fragment de petit bol. Glaçure vert uni, semé sur la face interne de minuscules mouchetures de brun de manganèse (*Fig. 9*).

37. Bord de bol ou de jatte décoré sur la face interne: sur fond crème, coulées vertes formant des bandes parallèles du bord vers le fond du vase (*Figs. 3* et *9*).

38. Fond de jatte hémisphérique à piédouche bas décorée sur la face interne: sur fond blanc crémeux, coulées noires parallèles (brun de manganèse) (*Fig. 9*).

39. Rebord de jatte hémisphérique décorée sur la face interne: sur engobe crème, grosses stries vertes parallèles étendues au pinceau. Pas de traces de glaçure (*Figs. 3* et *9*).

Ce dernier fragment ne représente rien d' autre qu'une maladroite imitation locale des autres types de décor, connus par les fouilles de Sāmarrā et dont les rapports avec la céramique chinoise sont bien établis. Du point de vue de la technique, il est à classer avec le n° 22.

Décor Jaspé ou Polychrome et Graffito [23]

Tous les tessons présentent la même terre rougeâtre, ou d'un rouge soutenu, les mêmes parois épaisses (5 mm. au rebord), le même engobe blanc, le même vernis plombeux transparent et brillant; mais les procédés de décoration conduisent à les classer en deux groupes:

a)—Dans le premier (n° 40 à 43), le décor incisé est tracé légèrement, à la pointe fine; le trait, réduit à une éraflure superficielle de la paroi, reste sans épaisseur et sans profondeur, si bien que la glaçure présente une surface parfaitement lisse et que le décor incisé ne joue qu'un rôle de second plan dans l'ornementation de l'objet: il ne représente qu'un complément à l'effet de couleur obtenu par le jeu de taches et de coulées irrégulières au vert de cuivre et au violet ou brun de manganèse. La répartition de ces taches colorées demeure sans rapport avec le décor incisé, d'ailleurs composé de lignes filiformes incohérentes qui ne dessinent aucun motif clairement individualisé [24] (*Figs. 3* et *10*).

b)—Dans le second (n° 44–45), à parois beaucoup plus épaisses, le trait est sensiblement plus appuyé, à tel point que la glaçure ne peut le remplir entièrement et que le graffito se marque, sur la surface de l'objet une fois glacé, par un creux, perceptible à l'oeil et au doigt. Il est, en outre, accentué au brun de manganèse, se détachant ainsi en grosses lignes noires, et les couleurs (éclatantes: brun de manganèse, vert de cuivre, jaune) sont étendues de manière à constituer un remplissage des motifs dessinés au graffito. Leurs bavures, qui débordent le contour au trait, n'offrent qu'un caractère accidentel et

[22] Samarra I, nº 227–49; Samarra II, Pl. 10, 62 à 64, 66 à 68, 72; Suse, nº 112–16; Antioche et Tarse: voir F. Day, "A Review of 'The Ceramic Arts. A. History' in *'A Survey of Persian Art,'*" *Ars Islamica,* VIII (1941), 29.

[23] Signalé à Rakka par C Vignier, "L'Exposition d'art oriental. Notes sur la céramique persane," *Revue des arts asiatiques,* II, 3 (1925), 44; cf. Baalbek, p. 123; Euphrate, Pl. 113, p. 19; Kish, pp. 201–2; Iṣṭakhr, R. Ettinghausen, "Review of E. F. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis,*" *Ars Islamica,* VII (1940), 175; Samarra I, nº 250–52, 262–73; Syrie: Hobson, Fig. 37–39 (ce dernier provenant effectivement d'Alep, où je l'ai eu en mains en 1927, quelques heures après sa découverte); R. L. Hobson, "Syria or Cyprus," *Ars Islamica,* IV (1937), 467–68; tessons en ma possession; Egypte, Pl. 1; Hama, Pl. X, Fig. 2.

[24] Ces caractères ont été bien soulignés par A. Lane, "Early Sgraffito Ware," *Trans. Oriental Ceramic Soc.,* XV (1937–38), 37.

ne sauraient être confondues avec les jaspures intentionnelles du groupe précédent (*Fig. 10*).

Cette dissociation de séries voisines, mais différenciées et sans aucun doute de dates différentes, s'impose sans réserve sur le vu des pièces[25]: il conviendrait de la faire toujours avec soin, de manière à mener progressivement vers une solution la question, encore si confuse, des origines et de l'évolution de la céramique à graffito.

Décor en Champlevé

Cinq fragments de jattes hémisphériques (n° 46 à 50), à parois épaisses, en terre rouge à engobe rosé, ont leur face interne décorée de motifs obtenus par grattage superficiel de la paroi, et recouverte d'un vernis au plomb coloré en jaune verdâtre, très impur de ton, qui donne aux creux une déplaisante coloration brun-vert; les motifs en champlevé sont eux-mêmes refouillés d'incisions à la pointe (*Figs. 3* et *10*). La face externe est tantôt verte, tantôt jaune avec jaspures vertes et brunes, et toujours d'un coloris très franc.

Cette technique est bien connue par les céramiques *gabrī* de la Perse septentrionale,[26] mais ici le relief est moins accusé, les couleurs plus ternes, le trait plus hésitant, le graffito plus abondant; Rakka se trouve, d'autre part, très en dehors de la zone ordinaire de fabrication de ces poteries. Tous ces indices incitent à considérer nos tessons comme une imitation locale de céramiques d'importation, exécutée par des potiers habitués à travailler en graffito.

Décor Gravé sous Glaçure Colorée Monochrome

Trois fragments de bols tronconiques légèrement campanulés (n° 51 à 53), en terre engobée de blanc, avec décor en graffito sous un vernis plombeux jaune foncé (*Figs. 4* et *10*).

C'est le type de céramique dont les décombres d'al-Fusṭāṭ one livré tant d'échantillons.[27]

Reflets Métalliques

Trois qualités différentes sont représentées:

a)—N° 54. Rebord de grand bol tronconique (diamètre à l'ouverture: 23 cm.). Terre blanchâtre, sableuse, assez épaisse (épaisseur au bord: 5 mm.) à engobe blanc. Glaçure alcaline mince, très craquelée. Sur la face interne, motifs de traits et de points en jaune foncé fumeux à reflets rouge violacé (*Figs. 4* et *10*). Au revers, maigres motifs très espacés.

b)—N° 55. Terre blanchâtre, plus compacte que dans l'échantillon précédent, et employée sous une épaisseur moindre (4 mm.); la glaçure, sans craquelures, est posée sur un engobe blanc. Sur la face interne, en jaune foncé franc presque dépourvu de reflets, grands motifs évidés de cercles blancs à point central. Au revers, traits et points (*Figs. 4* et *10*).[28]

c)—N° 56. Rebord de grand bol tronconique (diamétre à l'ouverture: 25 cm.). Terre identique à celle du n° 54. Sans engobe. Glaçure alcaline, verdâtre, craquelée. Face interne: décor au lustre brun à reflets bleus et coulées de bleu de cobalt. Au revers, même lustre brun, mais plus épais, donnant un reflet rouge cuivre (*Figs. 4* et *10*).

d)—N° 57. Même qualité (*Fig. 11*).

Cette dernière série, dont on connaît bien des échantillons,[29] est indubitablement de fabrication

[25] La distinction a été bien établie par Reitlinger, Kish, p. 201.

[26] Hobson, Fig. 31–32 (cf. p. 20 en bas); Kühnel, Fig. 44; Migeon, Fig. 315–16; Pope, p. 1530 sq.; Kish, pp. 215–16. On les classe d'ordinaire avec la céramique à graffito: il me paraît indispensable de l'en distinguer.

[27] Hobson, Fig. 19; Égypte, Pl. 60 à 83; Kish, p. 202; Baalbek, p. 124, n° 39 (Pl. 24). Aly bey Bahgat et F. Massoul (*La Céramique musulmane de l'Egypte* [Le Caire, 1930], p. 69 sq.) l'attribuent au treizième siècle: la date parait trop basse. Le style des ornements accuse la fin du onzième ou du douzième siècle.

[28] Cf. Suse, n° 161.

[29] Kühnel, Fig. 39; Migeon, Fig. 325; Hama, pp. 51–52; Baalbek, pp. 130–31; Euphrate, Pl. 148. A Rayy, on trouve de même associés le lustre et le bleu de cobalt: Pope, p. 1556 sq.

locale, car un fragment de raté de cuisson (n° 58: *Fig. 10*) présente exactement la même qualité de terre et de glaçure, mais n'a reçu aucun décor; deux autres fragments (n° 59 et 60) sont dans le même cas. Ces trois tessons doivent provenir de vases préparés pour recevoir un décor lustré (première cuisson) mais reconnus impropres à cet usage à cause de malfaçons accidentelles.

Un point de repère chronologique précis est fourni par un vase de ce type qui porte une inscription au nom d'un ayyūbite de Ḥimṣ: al-Malik al-Mudjāhid Shīrkūh II, qui monta sur le trône en 1186 et mourut en 1239.[30]

Poterie Blanche à Décor Gravé

On classe habituellement[31] ces céramiques avec celles qui portent un décor au graffito, relevé de vert de cuivre, et de brun ou de violet de manganèse, parfois de jaune (ci-dessus, n° 40 à 45). Il convient de les en distinguer franchement, comme l'établissent les résultats de l'examen technique auquel a bien voulu procéder M. Munier (voir l'appendice).

La pâte, ici, n'est pas rouge (comme dans la série à graffito), mais d'un blanc pur, composée sans doute de sable quartzeux broyé très fin[32]: c'est à peu près la même pâte sableuse qui forme les poteries à décor peint sous glaçure, mais obtenue avec des matériaux plus menus, et un peu plus cuite. Les parois sont généralement minces (n° 71: épaisseur au bord: 2 mm. 5). Pas d'engobe: le décor est tracé directement dans la pâte, avec une pointe peu aigüe: il forme sur la paroi un sillon sans profondeur, qui peut rester sensible au doigt à travers la mince couche de glaçure plombeuse qui habille l'objet; parfois il est exécuté en champlevé de manière à se détacher en relief sur la paroi (*Figs. 4* et *10*).[33]

Certains vases (n° 59 à 61) sont restés blancs, sans autre ornement que le décor gravé en champlevé. D'autres (n° 62 à 65) offraient une glaçure colorée en bleu turquoise ou bleu de cobalt, qui s'amassait en lignes plus foncées dans les creux. Ailleurs (n° 66–68) le bleu de cobalt est employé sous forme de taches irrégulières qui relèvent la blancheur du vase, ou sous forme de coulées parallèles rythmiquement distribuées (n° 69). Ailleurs encore, le bleu de cobalt et le violet de manganèse remplissent les figures dessinées par l'ornement gravé (n° 70:oiseau). Enfin, dans quelques pièces (n° 68, 71) viennent s'ajouter aux procédés de décoration énumérés des trous percés de part en part dans la paroi et obturés par la glaçure, créant un effet de transparence.[34] Sur d'autres pièces se combinent des effets de relief et de couleur (n° 72: bleu de cobalt, bleu de cuivre, violet de manganèse).

Ces céramiques, d'un effet décoratif original, à la fois sobre et vigoureux, comptent certainement parmi les plus belles qu'aient produites les potiers musulmans. Elles sont bien connues, et on croit y reconnaître des imitations des "blancs de Chine" de l'époque des Song,[35] mais leurs centres de fabrication restent à identifier: on les attribue à Rayy et Sulṭānābād; [36] on aurait trouvé des déchets de four à Kāshān.[37] Les ratés de cuisson que j'ai ramassés à Rakka (n° 67, 73), confirmant des observations antérieures,[38] attestent qu'ici aussi cette technique était connue, à

[30] *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, ed. E. Combe, J. Sauvaget and G. Wiet (Cairo, 1941), n° 14178.

[31] Migeon, p. 166; Kühnel, p. 86; Pope, p. 1514 sq; Lane, *loc. cit.*; Suse, n° 71 (pl. 6). Sur ces céramiques, Hobson, p. 16 sq; Day, *op. cit.*, p. 32 sq.

[32] Tel était déjà l'avis de M. Pope, que l'examen micrographique a confirmé.

[33] J'ajoute qu'aucun des tessons trouvés à Rakka ne semble provenir de vases faits au moule.

[34] Cf. Hobson, Fig. 21 et 23; Migeon, Fig. 318.

[35] Migeon, p. 116; Pope, p. 1514.

[36] Hobson, p. 16 (avec réserves) et 53; Migeon, p. 167. On en a trouvé à Suse, n° 71, à Hama, p. 38, n° 7, à al-Fusṭāṭ (Lane, *loc. cit.*).

[37] Pope, *loc. cit.* Cf. Day, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–35.

[38] Hobson, pp. 16–17; Vignier, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44; Lane, *loc. cit.*



Fig. 5 —Al-Rāfiḳa. Vue aérienne



Fig. 6—Nikephorion. Vestiges du rampart byzantin



Fig. 7—Al-Rāfiḳa. Four de potier

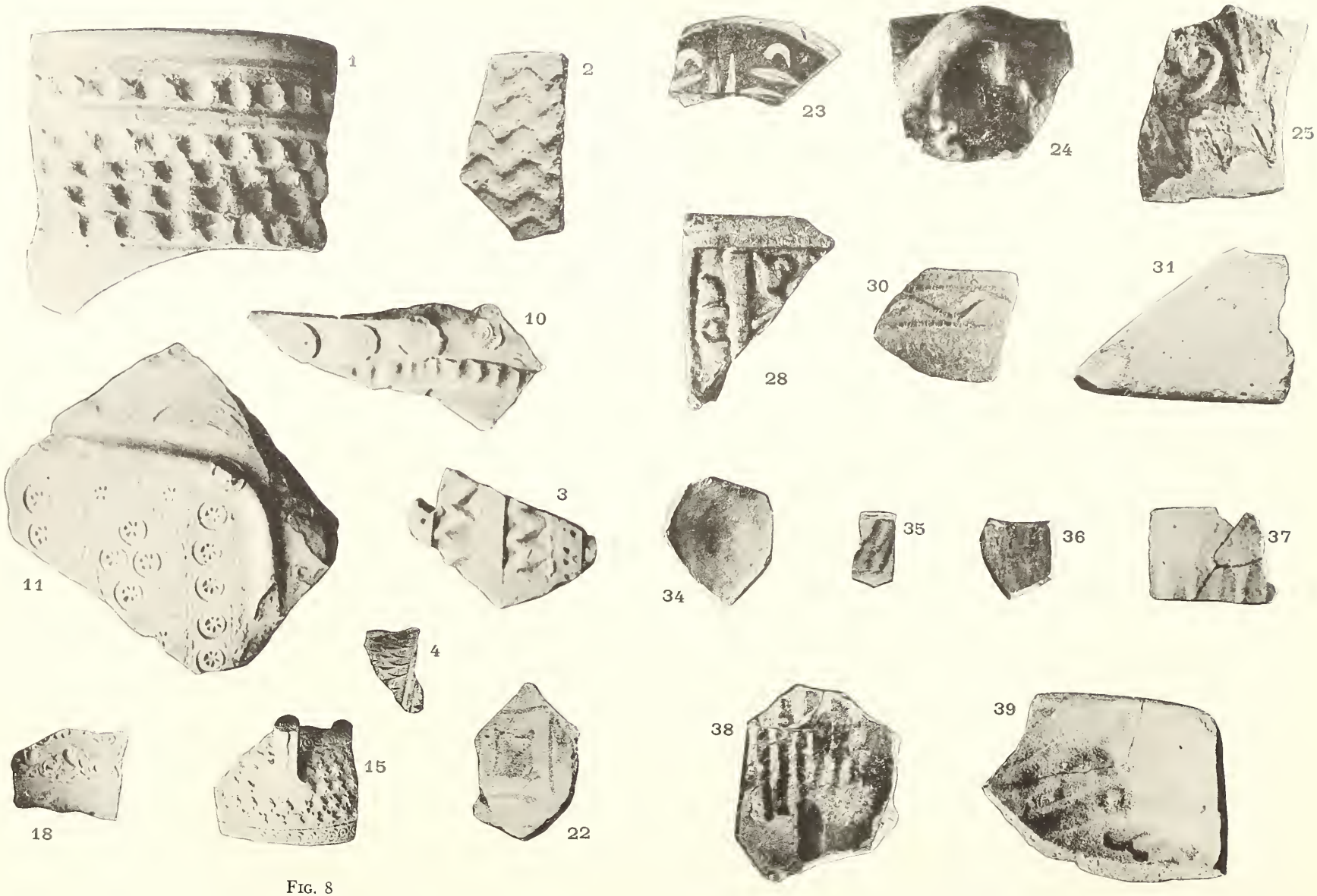


Fig. 8

Fig. 9

Figs. 8 et 9—Tessons de Rakka

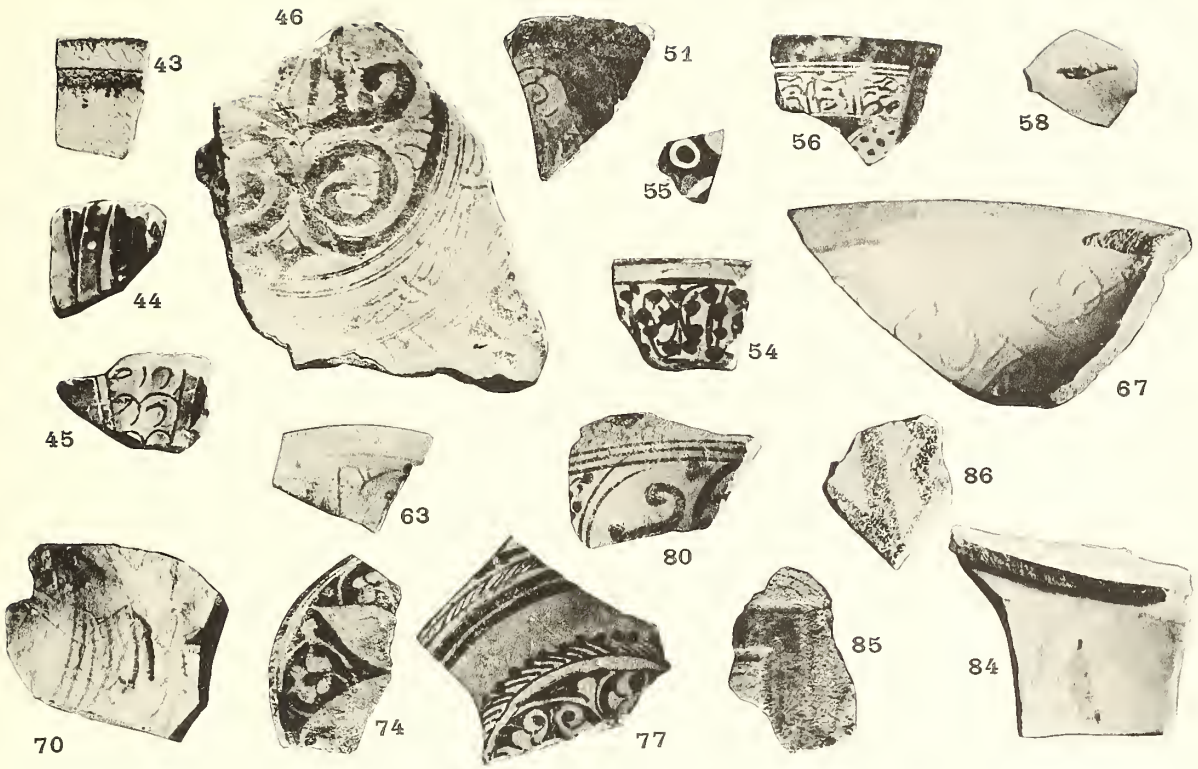


Fig. 10

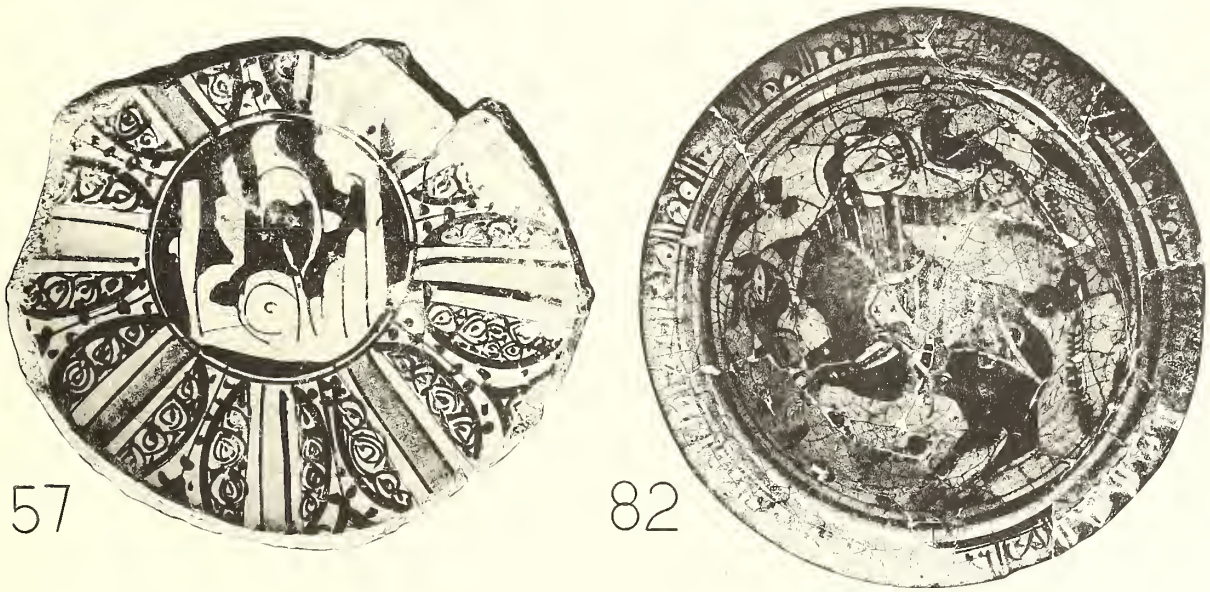
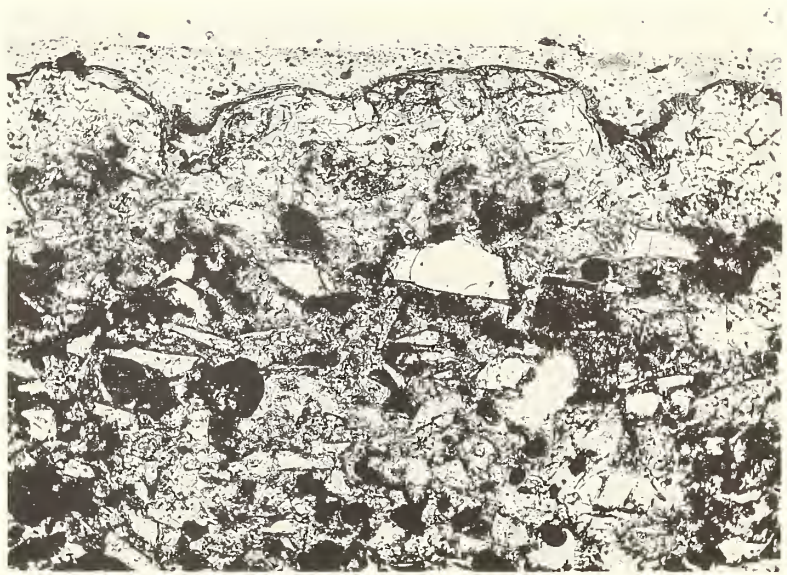
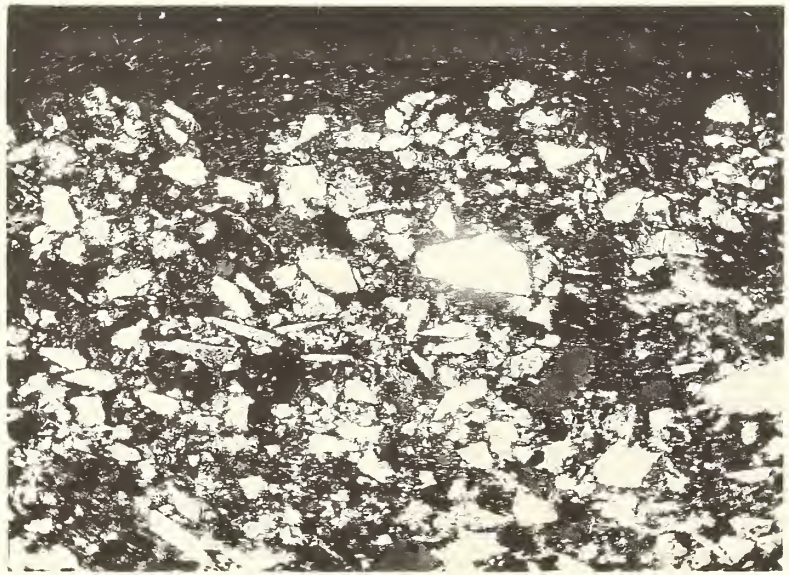


Fig. 11

Figs. 10 et 11—Tessons de Rakka





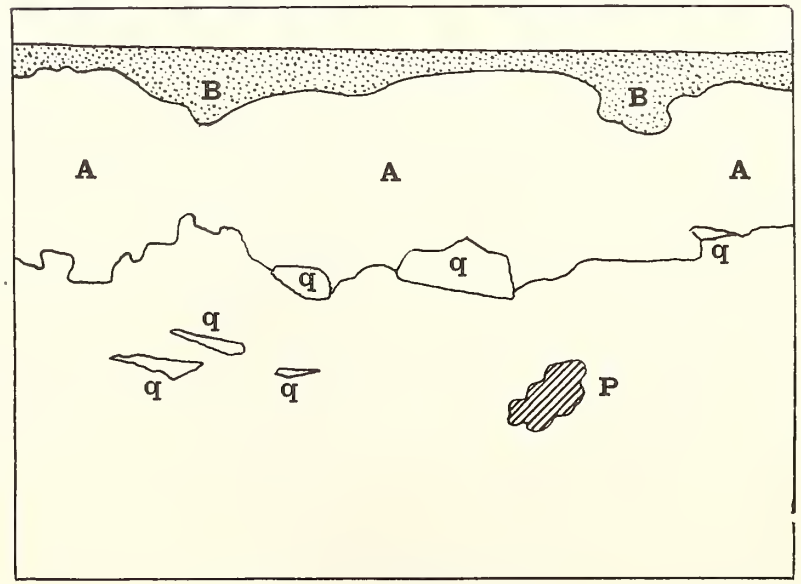


Fig. 12—Lumière naturelle

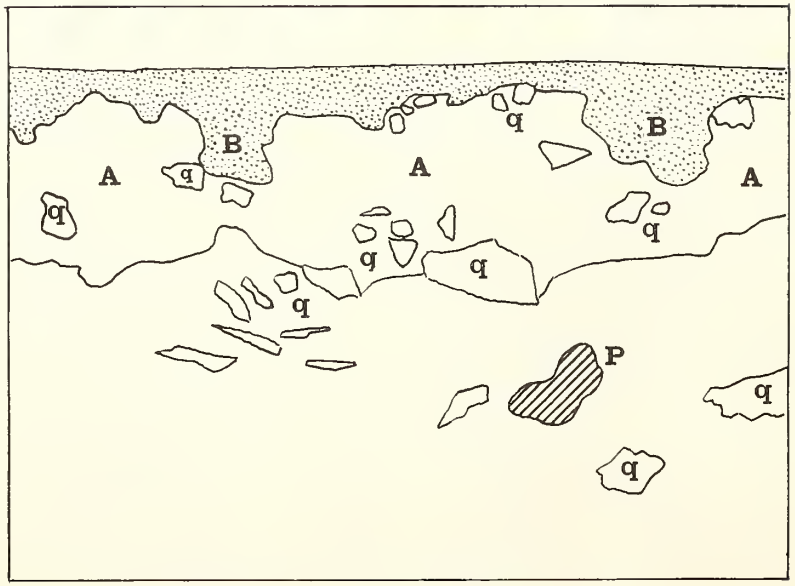


Fig. 13—Lumière polarisée

Figs. 12 et 13—Examen micrographique du N° 67 (Grossissement: 80 fois)
A: zone imprégnée de glaçure; B: bulle éclatée; Q: quartz; P: pore. En grisé, la gomme laque de montage

une date que l'on croit pouvoir fixer grossièrement dans les limites des onzième et douzième siècles[39]: les observations de M. Munier qu'on lira plus loin, en établissant que presque tous les fragments recueillis proviennent de pièces de rebut, permettent même d'affirmer que la fabrication de cette série a été très active à Rakka.

Décor Peint sous Glaçure

Tous ces fragments présentent cette même terre blanchâtre, sableuse, friable, mal cuite, qui constituait déjà la matière d'une des séries précédentes (n° 28 à 33): c'est "une variété de cette poterie blanchâtre, sableuse qui, depuis le douzième siècle environ, devint la poterie-standard du Proche-Orient."[40] La glaçure, alcaline, verdâtre, craquelée, sujette à s'altérer sous l'effet du séjour dans le sol, est posée directement sur la pâte, sans engobe, laissant transparaître le décor peint à cru sur la paroi. Cette technique est largement représentée dans l'Orient de la fin du Moyen-Age: on peut dire qu'elle représente la production-type des potiers persans, syriens et égyptiens du treizième au quartorzième siècle. Les différentes écoles ne se distinguent guère les unes des autres que par leur répertoire de motifs décoratifs: aussi longtemps que ce dernier n'aura pas été analysé en détail, on gardera peu de chances de reconnaître les principaux centres de dispersion de cette série si abondante. Elle est, en tous cas, très largement représentée à Rakka (très nombreux ratés de cuisson), où elle semble se placer dans la première motié du treizième siècle: le fait est trop connu pour qu'il m'ait paru utile d'en multiplier les exemples, si bien que je me bornerai à donner ici un échantillon de chacun des procédés décoratifs employés:

a)—Décor réservé sur fond noir, sous glaçure incolore (n° 74) (*Fig. 10*).

b)—Décor noir (au trait), sous glaçure colorée au bleu de cuivre (n° 75) (*Fig. 4*);
décor noir (motifs gras), sous glaçure colorée au bleu de cuivre (n° 76)[41];
décor réservé sur fond noir sous glaçure colorée au bleu de cuivre (n° 77) (*Fig. 10*);
idem (n° 78): élément de bordure très caractéristique de la production de Rakka[42] (cf. n° 82) à comparer aux bordures de Rayy (*Fig. 4*);
décor noir sous glaçure colorée au violet de manganèse (n° 79).

c)—Décor polychrome sous glaçure incolore.
80. Décor noir avec tache de bleu de cobalt (*Fig. 10*).[43]
81. Décor noir et vert de cuivre.
82, 83. Décor noir et bleu de cobalt avec touches de rouge foncé (*Fig. 11*): beaucoup moins abondante que les précédentes,[44] cette classe de céramique peinte sous glaçure, dont je ne possède personnellement aucun fragment, me paraît être une pauvre imitation locale des céramiques peintes sur glaçure (*mīnāī* de Rayy). On la trouve aussi en Égypte.[45]

d)—Décor au bleu de cobalt sous glaçure incolore: n° 84 à 86, dont un raté de cuisson (84) et un fragment de carreau de revêtement (n° 85).

APPENDICE

ÉTUDE TECHNIQUE DES N^os^ 59–72

par P. Munier

Les fragments soumis à l'examen sont les n^os^ 62, 67, 69, 71, 73, et trois autres fragments non

[39] Lane, *loc. cit.*: douzième siècle-début treizième siècle. La date paraît trop basse pour le style de l'ornement.

[40] Hobson, p. 19.

[41] Euphrate, Pl. 117.

[42] Hobson, Fig. 29.

[43] Cf. Euphrate, Pl. 118.

[44] Sur sa rareté, voir Hobson, p. 21.

[45] Aly bey Bahgat et F. Massoul, *op. cit.*, estiment que la couleur rouge est à base de fer. D'après les caractères du décor, les pièces trouvées à Hama (p. 48 sq.) sont de fabrication égyptienne.

repris dans la liste ci-dessus. Ils portent dans les collections de l'Institut de Céramique Française les n^{os} 2179-1 (notre n° 62), 2179-2 (n° 69), 2179-3 (n° 67), 2179-5 (n° 71), 2179-6 (n° 73) et 2179-4, 2179-7 et 2179-8.

Tous ces échantillons sont caractérisés par une pâte très siliceuse avec nombreux fragments de quartz broyés, cimentés par un liant vitreux amorphe très développé et partiellement dévitrifié.

Les pâtes contiennent du plomb en quantité trop importante pour qu'il constitue une impureté; il a donc été intentionnellement ajouté pour constituer le liant vitreux mentionné ci-dessus. Les pâtes sont en général de dureté tendre ou moyenne.

La glaçure est plombeuse, transparente et non opacifiée (absence d'oxyde d'étain). Elle est posée généralement en couche mince et est finement tressaillée. Quelques échantillons sont brillants, la plupart demi-mats ou mats et présentent une surface rugueuse, "sucée," rappelant celle d'un biscuit de porcelaine. Il s'agit de pièces surcuites dans lesquelles la glaçure a été absorbée plus ou moins complètement par la pâte par suite d'un excès de température.

Les couleurs sont constituées par du bleu de cobalt posé au pinceau sur la glaçure et du bleu-turquoise au cuivre. Un échantillon de violet-brun de manganèse.

En résumé ces faïences appartiennent typiquement à la catégorie des faïences siliceuses du Moyen-Orient, mais elles sont remarquables par leur minceur de fabrication.

ÉTUDE DÉTAILLÉE DU N° 67 (ICF: 2178–3)

Examen Macroscopique

La pièce présente des traces manifestes de surcuisson se traduisant par du gauche, des déformations ainsi que par collage avec un autre échantillon qui était décoré avec un émail turquoise. Au recto, collage de coulis ou de pièce réfractaire avec lequel l'objet est venu en contact au cours de sa cuisson, par suite de sa déformation.

Glaçure transparente, sans opacification, d'aspect demi-mat, rugueux et "sucé." Nombreuses traces de bulles plus ou moins éclatées. Cet aspect est caractéristique d'un excès de cuisson.

Décor au bleu de cobalt posé au pinceau sur la glaçure. Présente en certains endroits une apparence "drapée" rappelant l'attaque par vapeurs sulfuriques, telle qu'elle se produit en cas de contact direct de l'objet avec une flamme impure. Si l'échantillon se trouvait dans une gazette, celle-ci s'est rompue en cours de cuisson, par suite d'excès de feu.

Examen Microscopique

Voir *Figs. 12* et *13*.

Pâte très siliceuse constituée principalement par de nombreux quartz broyés fin, noyés dans un ciment vitreux amorphe, recristallisé et dévitrifié par endroits et très largement développé, qui imprègne toute la pâte. Pigmentation d'hématite. Présence de calcite se traduisant par un pailletage doré en lumière polarisée.

Pâte poreuse avec pores sinueux et irréguliers.

Glaçure transparente sans opacification, ayant complètement pénétré dans la pâte, qu'elle imprègne sur une profondeur de 0,300 m/m. Surface de la glaçure irrégulière, creusée d'anfractuosités et de cavernes avec bulles éclatées ouvertes; la glaçure n'a plus de surface propre, elle épouse complètement celle de la pâte. La réaction glaçure-pâte a été très poussée et s'est traduite par une dissolution des divers éléments de cette dernière, ne laissant subsister que les quartz visibles en lumière polarisée et plus ou moins distincts en lumière naturelle. En particulier les pigments de la pâte ont été dissous et celle-ci a été blanchie sur l'épaisseur de 0,3 m/m, phénomène très visible en lumière naturelle. Ces phénomènes, confirment le diagnostic d'excès de cuisson posé précédemment.

DIVERS

1°. La pâte, soigneusement meulée sur ses deux faces pour éliminer largement, et en toute sécurité, les zones de pénétration possible de la glaçure, accuse la présence indiscutable, et en quantité sensible, de PbO. Étant donné l'importance de la teneur constatée, il est vraisemblable qu'il y a eu introduction intentionnelle d'un constituant plombeux dans la composition de la pâte.

2°. Glaçure plombeuse sans étain.

3°. Pas d'effervescence avec HCl à froid, donc pas de présence de carbonates libres.

LE RÔLE DE L'IRAN DANS LES TEXTILES D'ANTINOÉ

PAR R. PFISTER

L'EXPLORATION DES NÉCROPOLES HELLÉNISTIQUES et coptes d'Antinoé par A. Gayet, a procuré au Musée Guimet (=MG) une riche collection de tissus qui pourrait être une source inépuisable de renseignements, si les conditions dans lesquelles les différentes pièces ont été trouvées étaient mieux établies. Malheureusement, malgré les publications que Gayet a consacrées à ses fouilles, et malgré les catalogues successifs des documents rapportés pendant plus de dix années, il est impossible de dire quelles sont les étoffes qui ont été trouvées réunies sur le même cadavre, quels sont les objets rencontrés avec les tissus, pouvant donner quelque indication d'époque. Le catalogue Gayet de 1898 [1] est le seul qui ait identifié les fragments d'après la tombe et la nécropole à laquelle ils appartenaient, mais la description donnée correspond rarement aux pièces du Musée.

D'autres musées, le Louvre, le Musée des Tissus de Lyon, le Victoria and Albert Museum de Londres, le Kaiser Friedrich Museum et le Schlossmuseum de Berlin, possèdent des séries importantes provenant d'Antinoé mais leur histoire n'est pas mieux connue et nous sommes donc mal renseignés sur ce centre de premier ordre; il faut du reste reconnaître que les autres sites d'Égypte ne sont pas mieux partagés. La publication de Lillian M. Wilson [2] représente à peu près le premier essai de conduire en Égypte, d'une façon scientifique, l'étude des textiles dans un lieu déterminé.

Nous allons débuter par l'examen de trois coussins d'un caractère particulier; nous arriverons à la conclusion qu'ils sont de date relativement ancienne et d'origine étrangère. Les circonstances mêmes qui nous amèneront à ces conclusions nous montreront aussi la voie qui nous permettra de déceler la nature véritable des "manteaux" et des soieries qui les décorent. Gayet avait attribué à ces manteaux une origine sassanide, en s'appuyant sur leur forme et sur le caractère du décor. Nous espérons réussir à apporter de véritables preuves démontrant qu'aucun de ces documents ne peut-être d'origine égyptienne, qu'ils ont été importés de l'Asie Antérieure, de l'Iran en particulier, qui, seul, disposait des matières, des procédés et des installations nécessaires à leur fabrication.

Les étoffes dont nous allons nous occuper d'abord, ont été tissées pour être utilisées comme coussins, qu'on a trouvés, remplis de plumes, sous la tête de certains morts; ce sont des tissus robustes et même grossiers. Nous allons laisser de côté les enveloppes de matelas et d'oreillers, exécutées à la façon de gobelins, représentées sur les tombeaux de Palmyre et sur certains sarcophages hellénistiques, richement décorés,[3] et qu'on trouve aussi à Antinoé. Les trois documents qui nous intéressent ici sont "tissés," [4] chaque trame traverse d'une lisière à l'autre; les couleurs de l'envers sont donc renversées; si l'endroit montre un décor jaune sur fond bleu, l'envers donne un décor bleu sur fond jaune.

Ces trois pièces (MG 1.116, 1.117 et 1.118)

[1] Voir R. Pfister, "La Décoration des étoffes d'Antinoé," *Revue des arts asiatiques,* V (1928), notamment p. 237.

[2] L. M. Wilson, *Ancient Textiles from Egypt in the University of Michigan Collection* (Ann Arbor, 1933), fouilles de Karanis dans le Fayoum, 1924–26.

[3] E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* (Paris, 1919), V, Fig. 6.744 (art. tapes).

[4] Nous utilisons ici, pour la commodité des explications, le mot "tissé" dans un sens restreint, car les "gobelins" que nous excluons sont également tissés, le parcours de chaque trame étant alors limité à la surface de telle ou telle couleur.

forment une série à peu près unique à notre connaissance; [5] une autre série, très répandue dans les musées celle-là, figure au MG avec un seul spécimen; [6] les documents de ce groupe sont plus avancés comme technique, tardifs et de fabrication égyptienne.

FACTURE DES COUSSINS

Les trois pièces de la première série, entièrement en laine, comportent, dans deux cas au moins, une tête presque blanche, en serge de trame (deux dessus, un dessous), arrangée de façon à former un dessin losangé. La partie décorée du coussin est formée d'un semis de motifs

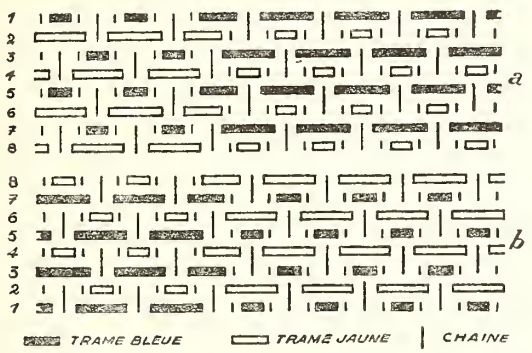


Fig. 1—Schéma d'un "Taffetas Double Face par Trames" avec Flottés de Trois
a. Endroit *b.* Envers

identiques entre eux, disposés par rangs et en quinconces. Le champ ainsi formé est encadré, mais en haut et en bas seulement, par une série de bordures. Tous les motifs sont, ou géométriques, ou composés d'éléments végétaux stylisés. La coloration est riche; le tisseur s'est cependant arrangé pour que les trames de couleur qui, seules, produisent le dessin, ne soient qu'exceptionnellement au nombre de trois (au même niveau s'entend). Le dessin est obtenu par des flottés de trois, d'après le schéma de la Figure 1.[7]

[5] Le Musée du Louvre possède au moins trois fragments "tissés" qui, très probablement, proviennent également d'Antinoé; ils ont été reproduits par R. Pfister, *Tissus coptes du Musée du Louvre,* éd. H. Ernst (Paris, 1932), Pl. 48 à gauche et à droite en bas. Ce sont des motifs très simples, sur fond bleu ou rouge; feuilles de vigne symétriques, Fig. 19, en quinconces, et aussi des pois blancs avec centre de couleur, accompagnés (au moins une fois) d'une bordure à petits arbres stylisés, analogues à ceux du MG 1.117. Les originaux ne peuvent pas être examinés en ce moment, mais il est probable que leur facture corresponde à celle que nous allons décrire (voir aussi no. 334, Lyon, Semis de feuilles cordiformes, probablement aussi d'Antinoé).

[6] Voici les caractéristiques de ce spécimen (MG 1, *Fig. 60*); les quatre rangs du fragment reproduit (47 cm.) semblent correspondre à toute la hauteur de la pièce. Chaîne et trames sont fortement tordues (à g., S) et très fines. Les trames, rouge (garance) et beige, sont très serrées, le nombre des duites varie entre 50 (dans le haut) et 88 (entre le 2e et le 3e régistre). La tête forme toile; pas de serge. Le tissage est plus compliqué que dans l'autre série: l'empoutage est à pointe et retour; chaque rapport d'env. 70 fils représente la moitié longitudinale du motif, l'autre moitié est identique mais renversée. La longueur du rapport est de 1.300 duites au moins, ce qui représente une organisation de la mise en lacs compliquée. Les animaux, à peau mouchetée ou non, avec ou sans collier, semblent tous être des chiens; c'est le type copte: voir A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles from Burying-Grounds in Egypt* (London, 1920–21), II, Pl. XXIV. Cette pièce, fine, mais de coloris pauvre, ne doit pas être antérieure au Ve siècle; elle est sûrement de fabrication égyptienne; elle, et probablement aussi ses nombreux congénérés dans les autres Musées, ont été tissés d'après notre Figure 1, c'est-à-dire sur le type des trois coussins importés.

[7] Ce tissage correspond par conséquent à celui décrit pour des pièces analogues, mais de décor très simple par G. M. Crowfoot et J. Griffiths, "Coptic Textiles in Two-faced Weave with Pattern in Reverse," *Journ. Egyptian Archaeol.*, XXV (1939), 40. Une armure identique, mais où les flottés (et le dessin) sont produits par des chaînes de couleur, est utilisée pour les soieries polychromes chinoises de l'époque des Han, au moins depuis la fin du Ier siècle avant J-Chr. G. Villard (*Manuel de théorie du tissage* [Lyon, 1925–26], I, 192) appelle ce tissage "taffetas double face un lat." À Antinoé, c'est la même armure, mais avec des trames de couleur. M. Roehrich estime que par analogie avec l'autre, on peut l'appeler "taffetas double face par trames." Voir à ce sujet, R. Pfister, "Les Premières soies sassanides," *Études d'orientalisme, Mélanges Linossier* (Paris, 1932), II, 466 et suivantes, R. Pfister, *Textiles de Palmyre* (= *TP*) (Paris, 1940), III, 77 et suivantes.

La chaîne, toujours en laine beige, est fortement tordue, la trame l'est moins, la surface de celle-ci a dû subir, après tissage, une faible opération de grattage produisant un aspect laineux. Toutes les torsions sont droites (Z), les laines sont grossières: diamètre de 20 à 60, même 75 μ.

MG 1.116–B112 (*Lyon 313*)—Deux fragments; l'un, comprenant la tête du tissu, a une hauteur de 31 cm, dont 9 cm pour les bordures successives (*Fig. 50*), l'autre fragment a 12, 5 cm; il représente la partie inférieure de la pièce avec partie des bordures, les "cornes" de la poste étant dirigées dans le même sens qu'en haut. Les deux fragments possèdent la lisière de gauche; la hauteur totale du tissu a donc été d'environ 50 cm, à moins que les deux fragments qu'on a rapprochés appartiennent à deux oreillers différents, ce qui est peu probable. Largeur des deux fragments, environ 19 cm.

Couleurs: beige (couleur naturelle de la laine), jaune, bleu foncé, rouge, vert. La tête, dont l'extrêmité est repliée et forme ourlet, est large de 17 mm—suivent cinq bordures: trois rangs de grecques (rouge et beige) encadrant une bande de rinceaux continus anguleux (beige sur fond vert) et un filet décoré d'une poste ("running wave," chien courant), beige sur bleu foncé.

Le champ compris entre les bordures a dû avoir au moins 32 cm de hauteur, il est décoré de feuilles jaunes anguleuses, inclinées par rangs vers la droite ou vers la gauche; deux feuilles successives étant toujours séparées par une pastille jaune à centre bleu foncé. Ces feuilles, placées en quinconces, se détachent du fond bleu foncé.

La lisière est formée de deux faisceaux de plusieurs fils. La chaîne est beaucoup plus serrée vers la lisière.

Avis de M. Roehrich, Chef de Travaux au Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers sur le procédé probable de tissage—"Les trois bandes de grecques présentent, en hauteur, les mêmes défauts sur les mêmes fils de chaîne (équerres ne rejoignant pas la bordure, voir les quatre flèches [*Fig. 50*]), ce qui prouve qu'on les a formées au moyen de lacs disposés d'avance. En largeur, ces défauts se reproduisent périodiquement, le rapport étant d'environ 52 fils, ce qui montre que les fils ont été montés avec arcades et cordes.

"De la bande de rinceaux sur fond vert, comprise entre les deux premières grecques, on ne peut rien déduire; signalons, cependant, un manque de deux flottés beiges à droite, tout près de la dernière flèche, il semble être dû à l'usure. Dans la bande à fond bleu, située entre la deuxième et la troisième grecque, on trouve le même rapport de 52 fils de chaîne environ, il est formé de deux éléments d'une poste, chacun représentant une sorte de corne renversée, une à embouchure large alternant avec une autre à embouchure ètroite; le bord de cette dernière est lisse, celui de l'autre forme escalier. L'encordage se voit là nettement.

"Le champ enfin est formé de deux systèmes de feuilles anguleuses s'opposant en quinconces, séparées par des pois ayant un point bleu au centre. Le rapport très net est également d'environ 52 fils, comprenant deux feuilles en largeur et autant en hauteur; l'encordage et le travail aux lacs sont évidents. Le troisième rang montre des pois sans noyau bleu; en se rapportant aux feuilles situées sur la même ligne on voit, par leur décor d'éléments bleus allongées, que deux ou trois duites ont été répétées indûment, les mêmes lacs ayant été tirés par erreur; pour éviter l'allongement du motif, la reprise a été faite plus bas ce qui a éliminé le point bleu des pois. Les bordures du bas sont en mauvais état et peu lisibles. Il semble cependant que pour les "cornes" jaunes sur fond bleu, on n'ait pas utilisé les lacs ayant servi en haut et que l'on ait disposé de nouveaux lacs.

"Du haut en bas du tissu deux ou trois fils présentent un défaut en ligne: dans les grecques deux bandes verticales coalescentes (a); dans les rinceaux une bande verticale beige contenant une ligne verte (légèrement à droite de a); dans le fond (au même niveau) un sillon bordé de flottés jaunes visibles surtout dans les pois du haut; il s'agit d'un défaut dû à une erreur d'empoutage ou de rentrage."

MG 1.117–B117 (*Lyon 270*)—Le fragment, haut au maximum de 25, large de 42 cm, comprend la tête du tissu, haute d'environ 45 mm, suivie d'une série de bordures (70 mm); la lisière est conservée à droite. Couleurs: beige, brun clair, moyen et foncé, rouge, vert, bleu foncé.

Après la tête formée par une serge de trame 1: 2 vient un filet de huit duites doubles brun moyen, passant alternativement sous un et sur trois fils; ensuite (*Fig. 52*) sept régistres:

1, 3, 5, 7—motif blanc sur fond brun foncé
2, 6 —arbres et rectangles beiges sur fond rouge
4 —losanges brun clair sur vert

Le champ, recouvert d'un réseau de losanges beiges renfermant chacun un petit arbre stylisé à base triangulaire et dont la tête plus ou moins aplatie est alternativement rouge ou brun moyen. La hauteur de ces têtes varie d'un rang à l'autre dans une forte mesure, c'est ainsi que, dans le premier rang, elle compte sept duites, alors qu'au deuxième rang il y en a dix et au troisième même douze, pour redescendre au quatrième à sept.

Le fond de ces losanges est bleu foncé; en haut cependant, et sur 12 mm, il est rouge.

La chaîne a environ 17 fils au cm, à peu près comme

le 1.116 (lorsqu'on les compte loin de la lisière), mais la trame du 1.117 est beaucoup plus fine et serrée: on compte environ 30 duites visibles alors qu'au 1.116 il n'y en a qu'environ 18 au cm.

Observations de M. Roehrich sur le 1.117—"Ce tissu est probablement exécuté comme le précédent, mais son état d'usure ne permet pas de lire les rapports avec précision; cependant, une duite rouge travaillant tout au long de la base de la troisième rangée d'arbres rouges indique un travail mécanique; elle est incompatible avec un travail à la main, genre tapisserie."

MG 1.118–B 101 (*Lyon 269*)—Fragment principal, haut de 43, large de 36 cm (*Fig. 51*). Il possède la tête du bas et le commencement des bordures du haut, il a aussi la lisière de droite presque en entier. Le champ principal a 283 mm de haut, les bordures du bas mesurent 10 cm et la pièce entière a donc eu 48 cm environ de hauteur.

Couleurs: blanc, beige, jaune, rouge, vert. La tête, encore moins bien conservée que le reste, semble être tissée, comme le tissu tout entier, en flottés de trois; on ne reconnaît pas de serge.

La bordure à fond beige est formée de trois rangs de tiges à tête lancéolée. Les deux rangs du bas s'opposent par leurs bases, qui forment une barre parallèle à la tête; cette barre, de couleur verte comme les tiges, est ornée de carrés et de losanges jaunes. Les "flèches," rouges celles-ci, qui forment une troisième rangée, tournent leurs têtes vers l'intérieur du tissu, leurs bases sont fendues en deux, les deux bras ainsi formés vont en une courbe se réunir avec ceux des flèches voisines. On a obtenu ainsi deux systèmes d'arceaux qui s'entrecroisent.

Le champ du tissu porte sur fond vert sept rangs de palmettes doubles de couleur blanche, placées en quinconces; la tige centrale est surmontée dans ses deux bouts d'une grosse pastille, alternativement rouge ou jaune.

Ce qui reste de la bordure du haut montre un premier rang de flèches rouges, dont les pointes sont dirigées vers l'intérieur, les bases sont reliées entre elles par une simple ligne en zig-zag; suivent alors les têtes de flèches vertes.

Cette étoffe est plus grossière que les autres, la chaîne a 12 à 14 fils au cm, la trame n'a qu'environ 18 duites visibles au cm, comme le 1.116.

Rapport: 2ème rang du bas—hauteur 35 mm, 136 duites
4ème rang du bas—hauteur 33 mm, 132 duites
5ème rang du bas—hauteur 46 mm, 168 duites
6ème rang du bas—hauteur 43 mm, 148 duites

Les inégalités dans la hauteur des motifs ne s'expliquent donc pas uniquement par le serrage des duites.

Voici l'avis de M. Roehrich—"Travail identique dans ce gros tissu. Rapport d'une soixantaine de fils de chaîne, que l'on lit aussi bien dans les motifs de bordure que dans le fond. Au niveau des pois, il passe trois duites; une jaune, une verte et une rouge. Les inégalités dans la hauteur des motifs viennent de ce que certaines duites ont été répétées indûment. Les bordures du bas, à la différence de celles du 1.116, sont renversées par rapport à celles du haut; il semble, comme dans ce dernier tissu, qu'il y ait eu mise en lac nouvelle pour la bordure du bas qui diffère légèrement de celle du haut.

"Ces trois étoffes de coussins sont donc techniquement caractérisées par l'emploi d'un métier permettant la répétition du sujet, c'était probablement un métier à la tire (draw loom).

"On a, de plus, observé:

1) Un encordage très réduit; une cinquantaine de fils;

2) Répétition de chaîne toute suivie, sans retournement (empoutage suivi, non à retour);

3) Mise en lacs ou rapport de trame réduit, de 110 à 140 duites, en plus les bordures; ce qui est une mise en lacs peu encombrante; on ne fait pas usage du renversement en trame non plus; il ne semble même pas que l'on ait utilisé les mêmes lacs pour les bandes du haut et du bas. Un seul exemple de retour en arrière: les grecques du premier tissu."

Nous rencontrons donc ici, à une époque qui, nous le verrons plus loin, doit être proche de la fin du III[e] siècle, un essai de répétition mécanique du décor, le rapport dans les deux sens étant assez important:

1.116—Rapport en largeur 52 fils, en longueur 140 duites environ
1.117—Rapport en largeur 44 fils, en longueur 108 duites environ
1.118—Rapport en largeur 64 fils, en longueur 132 duites minimum

(le dernier chiffre tient compte de la troisième couleur, nécessaire pour les pois); cependant, ce rapport ne comporte jamais de retournement. Pour faire ressortir la distance qui sépare cet effort de la perfection atteinte au moins deux ou trois siècles plus tôt par la technique chinoise, nous mentionnerons que les damassés chinois venus à Palmyre [8] entre le début du II[e] siècle et 272 montrent un retournement dans le sens

[8] *TP*, I (1934), Pl. XI et *TP*, III (1940), Pl. XII, aussi pp. 59 et 60.

de la longueur du tissu, pour le S 9 et le S 39. Pour ce dernier,[9] le rapport de trame (moitié d'un losange) est d'environ 76 duites; le rapport en largeur, s'il existe, est très élevé, il comprend au moins six losanges encastrés les uns dans les autres; ils sont en partie très mal conservés mais semblent (ceux qui existent, dans tous les cas) tous différents; or, chaque losange exige plus de 300 fils de chaîne, ce chiffre devrait être au moins triplé pour obtenir le rapport de chaîne—Pour le S 9 [10] le retournement se produit dans les deux sens, le rapport ne comprend donc que la moitié d'un dessin: en largeur, il est au moins de 540 fils, en longueur d'environ 200 duites. Ces soieries ne sont cependant pas les premières qui, en Chine, ont été tissées d'après des procédés perfectionnés; celles trouvées par Sir Aurel Stein à Lou-lan sont sûrement plus anciennes; celles découvertes à Noïn-Oula sont même datées par un bol laqué dont l'inscription indique l'an 2 avant notre ère; [11] un de ces tissus au moins [12] montre le renversement du sujet dans le sens de sa longueur,[13] le rapport dans cette direction (moitié du motif), autant qu'il est permis d'en juger d'après la reproduction, paraissant être d'environ 160 duites.

Colorants.—Les trois tissus que nous examinons renferment, ainsi que nous l'avons dit plus haut, du bleu foncé (indigo), du rouge et du jaune, le vert étant obtenu par teinture en jaune sur fond indigo. Dans les trois tissus, le rouge donne les réactions de la garance, utilisée dans la plupart des tissus à l'époque précédant la conquête arabe. Ce rouge ne permet donc aucune conclusion sur la provenance de nos documents.

DATE PROBABLE DES DOCUMENTS

Les tissus exposés au MG sous les nos. 1.116, 1.117, 1.118 ont été exhumés par A. Gayet dans sa première campagne de fouilles à Antinoé 1896/1897. D'après Gayet [14] ils ont été trouvés dans la nécropole B (époque romaine) avec des

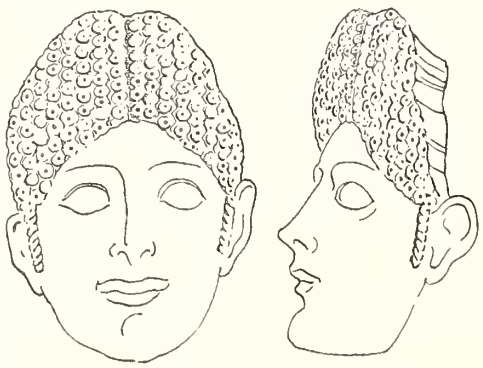


Fig. 2—Masque d'Antinoé Dit de Sabine, Musée Guimet B 117

masques en plâtre et des manteaux sassanides ornés de soieries. Le masque "Sabine" (*Fig. 2*) correspond au coussin aux petits arbres (MG 1.117), reproduit en couleurs par Guimet.[15] Ces coussins, selon Gayet, sont en tapisserie [16]; selon Guimet, ils sont "délicatement brodés." [17] Nous avons vu qu'en réalité ils ne sont ni l'un ni l'autre. Il existe d'autres contradictions chez ces deux auteurs. L'identité des trois coussins résulte cependant de façon indiscutable de la planche III [18] où ils figurent tous les trois (le MG 1.116 y est reproduit à l'envers, les teintes de ce côté étant plus fraiches).

[9] *TP*, III, Pl. XII.
[10] *Op. cit.*, I, Pl. XI.
[11] C. Trever, *Excavations in Northern Mongolia* (Leningrad, 1932), p. 13.
[12] No. 14.514, voir aussi No. 14.310.
[13] A. A. Voskresenski et N. P. Tichonov, *Étude technologique des tissus provenant des kourganes funéraires de Noïn-Oula* (Leningrad, 1932), Figs. 33 et 39.
[14] A. Gayet, "L'Exploration des ruines d'Antinoé," *Ann. du Musée Guimet*, XXVI, 3ème pt. (1897), 57, 59, 60, 61.
[15] E. Guimet, *Les Portraits d'Antinoé* (Paris, 1912), Pl. III (en haut à gauche) et Pl. XIV, Fig. 2, le masque dit "Sabine."
[16] Gayet, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
[17] Guimet, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[18] *Ibid.*, Pl. III.

L'époque des masques est aussi celle des enveloppes de momie en toile peinte donnant le portrait en pied du défunt.[19] Ces enveloppes reproduisent le costume—tunique et linceul—du III^e siècle, tout en lin avec modeste décor en gobelin de laine pourpre (garance).[20] Edgar et Kendrick [21] pensent que les enveloppes et surtout les masques ont disparu vers la fin du III^e siècle, il en résulte donc une date approximative aussi pour les coussins.

Gayet et Guimet ont essayé de dater ces masques d'Antinoé d'après la coiffure, ils ont en effet cru pouvoir rapprocher l'un d'eux (MG B 117) des effigies de l'impératrice Sabine qui, en 130, avait accompagné Hadrien en Égypte.

Les coiffures compliquées, depuis longtemps en usage dans le Proche Orient [22] étaient adoptées par la mode romaine depuis l'empire.[23] Figure 2 donne un croquis du masque B 117 du MG de face et de profil. Sur l'aigue-marine de la Bibl. Nat. (*Fig. 3*), sur le buste de la même époque (80–85) du Musée de Naples (*Fig. 4*) et même encore sur le buste de Marciane, soeur de Trajan (*Fig. 5*),on trouve des bouclettes en grand nombre, mais l'aspect général n'est pas celui de notre



D'APRÈS FURTWÄNGLER

FIG. 3—AIGUE MARINE DE LA BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE REPRÉSENTANT JULIE, FILLE DE TITUS

masque. Celui-ci ressemblerait plutôt à une tête de Seleucie du Tigre (*Fig. 6*). Quant aux coiffures des romaines du commencement du II^e siècle (*Fig. 8*), elles présentent [24] surtout des



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FIG. 4—BUSTE DU MUSEO NAZIONALE DE NAPLES

[19] Masques et enveloppes sont propres à la moyenne Égypte et en particulier à Antinoé; ils disparaissent vers l'an 300—voir C. C. Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes, Musée du Caire* (Le Caire, 1905), p.xi; Kendrick, *op. cit.*, I, 19. R. Pfister "Les Débuts du vêtement copte," *Études d'orientalisme*, pp. 437 s. À consulter aussi C. C. Edgar, "On the Dating of the Fayum Portraits," *Journ. Hellenic Studies*, XXV (1905), 226; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoé* (London, 1889), p. 13 (le décor pourpre sur lin est encore général au IV^e siècle).

[20] R. Pfister, "Teinture et alchimie, . . .," *Seminarium Kondakovianum* (Prague, 1935), VII, 1 (notamment p. 39).

[21] Voir n. 19.

[22] Voir p. ex. E. Pottier et S. Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina* (Paris, 1888), p. 157; pour la Mésopotamie voir W. van Ingen, *Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor, 1939), notamment Pl. LXXXIV, 616, No. 1597, p. 342; pour l'Égypte voir P. Perdrizet, *Les Terres cuites grecques d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet* (Paris, 1921), p. 9. Ces coiffures monumentales exigeaient un appoint considérable de faux cheveux qui, selon Perdrizet (p. 8), étaient importés de l'Inde.

[23] E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* (Paris, 1908), II, art. coma, p. 1361, Fig. 1859 et 1860; R. Delbrück, *Antike Porträts* (Bonn, 1912), Pl. 39 b et 40, p. XLIX et Pl. 59, 9; J. J. Bernoulli, *Die Bildnisse der röm. Kaiser, . . .* (Berlin, 1891), II, 2; pour les pierres taillées A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1900), Pl. XLVIII, 8 (Julie), 11 et 16 (Sabine), description des planches pp. 229, 230; pour les monnaies, H. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies* (Paris-Londres, 1880), I, 465 (Julie); *ibid.*, II (1882), 96, Plotine, femme de Trajan, morte en 129, p. 101, Marciane, soeur de Trajan, No. 13, etc.

[24] Saglio, *op. cit.*, Fig. 1863.

nattes, sans aucune analogie avec la coiffure d'Antinoé.

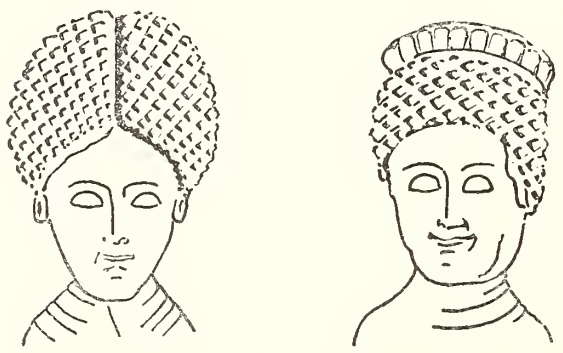
Nous avons vu plus haut que les masques disparaissent vers l'an 300. Du moment que ces



D'après Saglio

Fig. 5—Buste de Marciane Soeur de Trajan, Capitole

coussins ne peuvent pas être postérieurs à cette date, il devient impossible qu'ils soient de fabrication égyptienne.[25] En effet, au IVe siècle comme au troisième et au cinquième les tissus d'Égypte sont, en règle générale, à torsion S; la décoration est sobre, exécutée en gobelin, avec des trames de laine "pourpre," qu'il s'agisse de tuniques ou de grands châles en lin, la surface reste unie, blanche; les ornements: bandes, équerres, médaillons, carrés, n'en couvrent qu'



D'après W. van Ingen

Figs. 6–7—Têtes de Statuettes Trouvées à Séleucie du Tigre

une petite partie. Cette règle est attestée par les enveloppes de momies et confirmée pour toute l'Égypte par des milliers de documents. L'armure de toile (un pris, un laissé) est la seule utilisée.[26] Le sergé, notamment, est inconnu, bien qu'il soit pratiqué au IIe et au IIIe siècles en Syrie. Aucune répétition mécanique du sujet n'est constatée en Égypte, même au IVe siècle.

Cette situation nous donne l'occasion de parler du passage de Pline[27]: Plurimis vero liciis texere, quae polymita appellant, Alexandria instituit. Littré,[28] a traduit: Alexandrie a inventé l'art de tisser à plusieurs lisses les étoffes qu'on appelle brocarts.



D'après Saglio

Fig. 8—Sabine, Femme d'Hadrien

On a quelquefois proposé de voir dans les polymita le produit d'un tissage mécanique permettant de répéter les sujets de la décoration, invention qui, évidemment, a révolutionné le tissage mais qui, au temps de Pline (vers l'an 80

[25] Les tissus à sujets simples répétés, de Mrs. Crowfoot, dont nous avons parlé n. 7, sont probablement d'origine égyptienne (*ibid.*, p. 47), mais n'exigent pas l'emploi d'un métier à la tire; voir aussi ceux de Karanis, datés du IVe S., auxquels Miss Wilson a attribué une origine étrangère (Crowfoot, *op. cit.*). Quant à la signification possible du terme polymita (*loc. cit.*) voir ci-après.

[26] *Le Tarif de Dioclétien* mentionne parfaitement des enveloppes de coussins d'Antinoé, mais elles sont en lin, Chap. XXVIII, 46: *τύλη μετὰ προσκεφαλαίου Τραλλιανὴ ἤτοι Ἀντινοησία*—H. Blümner, *Der Maximaltarif des Diocletian* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 46 et 172.

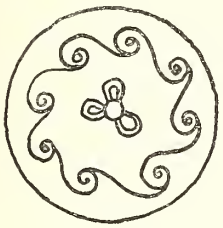
[27] *Histoire naturelle de Pline*, VIII, 74, 2.

[28] *Histoire naturelle de Pline*, tr. M. E. Littré (Paris, 1865), I, 351.

de notre ère) n'était pas encore connue en Occident. Toute cette question perd du reste une grande partie de son intérêt par le fait que le terme polymita est beaucoup plus ancien que Pline, il est attesté pour le V^e siècle avant J-Chr.,[29] ayant été utilisé par Cratinos, auteur comique; il est donc bien antérieur à la fondation d'Alexandrie.

Or, nous avons vu plus haut que nos trois coussins sont tissés sur un métier à la tire, inconnu en Égypte, et même en Syrie[30] à la fin du III^e siècle; la torsion Z de tous les fils fait également penser à une importation; nous montrerons que la décoration aussi a un caractère étranger, très différent de ce que l'Égypte du III^e siècle nous présente comme coloris et comme ornement.

CARACTÈRE DU DÉCOR DES COUSSINS



D'après Contenau

Fig. 9—Cachet Cappadocien, Fin du 3e mill.



D'après Perrot

Fig. 10—Cylindre Hittite



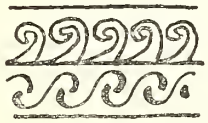
D'après Dussaud

Fig. 11—Rondelle en Or, Mycènes



D'après Perrot

Fig. 12—Cratère, Grece



D'après Perrot

Fig. 13—Vase du Cabirion



D'après Kendrick

Fig. 14—Bordure d'un Gobelin Nilotique

Figs. 9–14—Différentes Formes de la "Poste"

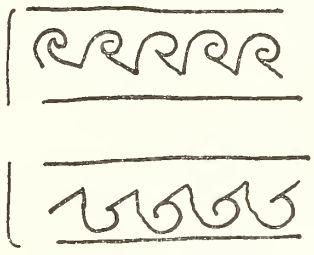
MG 1.116 (*B 112*) (*Fig. 50*) *Lyon 313*—Bordures formées par trois méandres, un rinceau continu et une poste.

Les méandres sont très anciens et avant de fournir des variantes nombreuses dans la céramique grecque, ils ont existé en Chine; nous en avons reproduit quelques types d'après J. G. Anderson dans T P.[31] En Égypte aussi, dans les tombeaux thébains, on trouve des éleménts de méandres, utilisés dans la décoration des pla-



D'après Legrain

Fig. 15—Cachet Elamite



Musée de Berlin (Croquis)

Fig. 16—Palais Parthe d'Assour

Figs. 15–16—Bordures Formées de "Mèches"

[29] Dans l'*Onomasticon* de Pollux (II^e siècle de notre ére), VII, 31 on lit en effet: Καὶ πολύμιτος, ὡς Κρατῖνος ἔφη—*et variis filis contextus, ut Cratinus inquit.* Ici il s'agit des fils composant le tissu; on a peut-être inséré, les unes après les autres, des trames de diverses couleurs, obtenant ainsi des étoffes rayées.

[30] Les tombeaux de Palmyre ont fourni des tissus de laine et de soie de belle qualité qui, en partie, ont été tissés dans la Syrie du II^e et du III^e siècle; aucun d'eux ne demande l'emploi d'un métier à la tire—*TP,* II (1937), 24, 35, 36; *TP,* III (1940), 77.

[31] *TP,* III, Fig. 22.

fonds,[32] il est donc difficile de dire où cet ornement a été inventé. A l'époque hellénistique, il figure surtout dans les mosaïques; il a été largement utilisé dans les stucs sassanides;[33] dans les textiles hellénistiques et coptes d'Égypte, ses éléments servent à garnir l'intérieur de certains médaillons.[34]

Le rinceau continu est anguleux, comme du reste tout le décor, aussi en raison de la grossièreté du tissage. On retrouve ce type dans la suite, dans les tapis noués.[35] La poste ("running wave") dans sa forme classique, a été connue dans le monde méditerranéen dès l'époque préhellénique.[36] En Orient, cette forme existe au moins depuis la fin du III^e millénaire,[37] elle est continue et reversible, tous ses éléments étant identiques (*Figs. 9–14*). A une époque encore plus ancienne, on rencontre en Orient un ornement d'une origine peut-être différente; les éléments sont placés debout, côte à côte,[38] G. Jéquier a pensé qu'on a voulu représenter des mèches dont les bouts s'enrouleraient (*Fig. 15*). Sur le vase d'Entéména, par exemple, les mèches bouclées de la barbiche et des pattes des bouquetins [39] sont en effet représentées ainsi. Dans le palais parthe d'Assour on a trouvé des frises, encadrées de motifs un peu analogues qui cependant, sont réunis entre eux dans la partie basse (*Fig. 16*); on est ainsi arrivé à une bordure [40] rappelant la poste mais qui n'est pas réversible. Les "mèches" ou "cornes" du MG 1.116 sont isolées les unes des autres, on peut les rapprocher des bordures de Suse et d'Assour, elles sont cependant beaucoup plus inclinées. En ce qui concerne l'Égypte, les gobelins des tuniques du IV^e et du V^e siècle sont souvent encadrés par une poste, c'est toujours le type classique [41] représenté dans Figure 14.

Les feuilles pentagonales qui décorent le champ de ce coussin ont de longues tiges, légèrement élargies à leur naissance. Elles sont grossièrement exécutées et peu caractéristiques; placées en quinconces, elles s'inclinent par régistres à droit et à gauche, ce qui correspond aux tendances orientales pour des motifs asymétriques. Notre Figure 17 donne un exemple de cette façon de procéder: sur cette soierie sassanide de Lyon (n° 391) les têtes de Sīmurgh se tournent vers la droite ou la gauche selon le régistre; de même

[32] G. Perrot et C. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1882), I: l'Égypte, Fig. 541, 2 et 4.

[33] J. M. Upton, "The Expedition to Ctesiphon, 1931–32," *Bull. Metropolitan Mus. Art*, XXVII (1932), 188 et Fig. 6, bordure en stuc; J. H. Schmidt, "L'Expédition de Ctésiphon," *Syria*, XV (1934), 1, Pl. I, H et J; Fouilles de Kish, J. C. Watelin, "Kish," *Illus. London News*, CLXXVIII (Feb., 1931), 261; et J. Baltrušaïtis, "Sāsānian Stucco," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London–New York, 1938–39), I, Fig. 179 b.

[34] Kendrick, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. IV, 209 et Pl. XXVIII, 193; O. Wulff u. W. F. Volbach, *Spätantike und koptische Stoffe aus ägyptischen Grabfunden* (Berlin, 1926), Pl. 78, No. 9.119, p. 32; voir aussi I. Errera, *Collection d'anciennes étoffes égyptiennes* (Bruxelles, 1916), les bordures 56, 57, 73, 79 à méandres compliqués (croix gammées).

[35] Voir A. Riegl, *Ein orientalischer Teppich vom Jahre 1202 n. Chr. und die ältesten orientalischen Teppiche* (Berlin, 1895), Fig. 1 et p. 12 "geknickte Ranken."

[36] R. Dussaud, *Les Civilisations préhelléniques* (2^e éd.; Paris, 1914), Fig. 110, notre Fig. 11; plus tard nos Fig. 12 et 13 (Perrot, VII, Fig. 39, *ibid.*, X, Fig. 198).

[37] Voir G. Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* (Paris, 1931), II, Fig. 570. Empreinte de cachet sur une tablette cappadocienne (Louvre) notre Fig. 9; un autre chez Perrot, IV, Fig. 382 (notre Fig. 10).

[38] G. Jéquier, "Cachets et cylindres archaïques (fouilles de Moussian)" *Mém. de la délégation française en Perse* (Paris, 1905), 3^e sér., VIII: Suse, Fig. 41; L. Legrain, "Empreintes de cachets élamites," *Mém. de la mission archéol. en Perse* (suite des Mém. précédents) (Paris, 1921), XVI, Pl. VI, 104 (notre Fig. 15) et Pl. XXI, 315.

[39] Contenau, *op. cit.*, Fig. 407.

[40] Dalle d'une frise de la façade de l'iwān ouest (Palais parthe d'Assour) environ 200 après J-Chr., Fouilles allemandes, 1911/12 (Musée de Berlin).

[41] Kendrick, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. XXVI, No. 180, manchette à décor nilotique, laine pourpre sur lin.

pour les chevaux ailés de Lyon (n° 233); [42] les béliers de Lyon,[43] les canards de Sens; [44] les coqs du Schlossmuseum, Berlin [45] etc. Voir encore au Ṭāḳ la robe des rameuses des barques royales (*Fig. 18*); décorée de losanges renfermant des canards allant alternativement à droite ou à gauche.[46] Lorsque les sujets sont symétriques et identiques, il y a souvent alternance dans les couleurs, au moins par régistres.

Les artistes qui ont exécuté les mosaïques de Daphné, près d'Antioche, ont quelquefois fait appel à des modèles orientaux.[47] Des perroquets cravatés (n° 89), en quinconces, se dirigent vers la droite ou la gauche selon le régistre. Les grandes feuilles du n° 91, alternant selon un rythme un peu plus compliqué, portent des fruits divers. Ces feuilles allongées et inclinées ressemblent à celles dont un rang décore une tasse cylindrique de Suse, au Louvre, que M. Pézard [48] a attribuée à la deuxième période sassanide. Les feuilles du n° 1.116 ne semblent pas correspondre à une espèce déterminée, elles forment des taches d'un jaune intense sur un fond bleu indigo, produisant un bel effet, sortant entièrement des coloris de l'Égypte hellénistique.

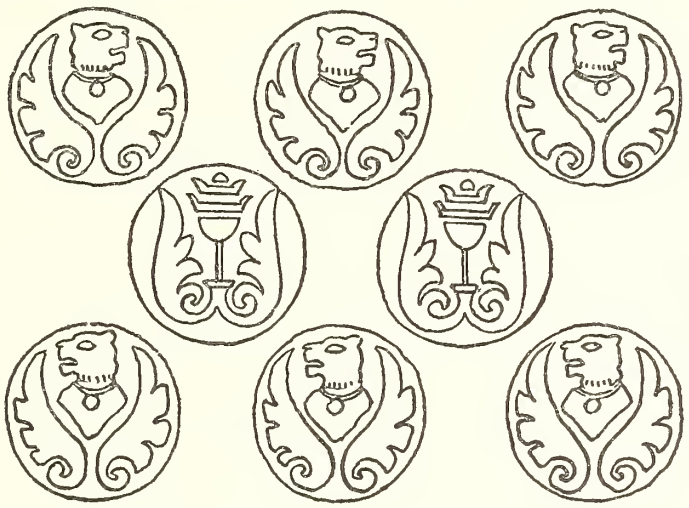


Fig. 17—Schèma d'un Tissu de Soie, Musée de Lyon 391

MG 1.117 (*B 117*) (*Fig. 52*), *Lyon 270.* Décoration d'une grande simplicité, tous les éléments répondent aux règles iraniennes: losanges renfermant des arbres symétriques à pied triangulaire,[49] la tête des arbres de couleur diffé-

[42] Pfister, "La Décoration des étoffes d'Antinoé," Pl. LVI.

[43] O. von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei* (Berlin, 1913), Fig. 50.

[44] *Ibid.*, Fig. 85.

[45] *Ibid.*, Fig. 103.

[46] E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien* (Berlin, 1920), Fig. 37. Les losanges sont encadrés par des successions de pétales cordiformes; une fleur à quatre pétales de la même espèce marque les angles. Ces pétales sont un des éléments les plus fréquents du répertoire sassanide. Un autre dessin du Ṭāḳ analogue (*ibid.*, Fig. 38) est sans alternance.

[47] *Antioch-on-the-Orontes, 1933–1936,* éd. R. Stillwell (Princeton, 1938), II, No. 89, Pl. 70 et No. 91, Pl. 74.

[48] M. Pézard, *La Céramique archaïque de l'Islam* (Paris, 1920), Pl. X, 4 et p. 39.

[49] Ceci est caractéristique pour l'Iran. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 113, écrit pour le chapiteau du Ṭāḳ-i-Bustān de la Pl. LVII, "Die Wurzel ist, wie immer, trapez förmig"; voir aussi p. 76. Il existe cependant des exceptions à cette règle.

rente selon les régistres; dans les bordures, alignements d'arbres plus gros, mais du même type, alternant avec des rectangles; finalement des carrés posés sur angle combinés avec des pois de couleur. Ces arbres stylisés existent déjà du temps des Achémenides. On a trouvé dans le Caucase des plaques en or de cette époque.[50] D'autre part, on a, à l'époque sassanide au



D'après Herzfeld

Fig. 18—Décor d'une Robe du Ṭāḳ-i-Bustān (Rameuses)



Fig. 19—Tissu de Laine (Coussin), Louvre



D'après Falke

Fig. 20—Soie aux Dauphins, Antinoé



D'après Sarre

Fig. 21—Soie Sassanide du Victoria and Albert Museum

Figs. 19–21—Feuilles Stylisées Sassanides

moins, représenté ainsi (*Figs. 19–21*) des feuilles stylisées.[51] Les arbres d'Égypte sont très différents; ils sont empruntés au paysage hellénistique d'Alexandrie.[52]

MG 1.118 (*prob. B 101*) (*Fig. 51*), *Lyon 269*. La double palmette (*Fig. 22*) combinée avec un "candélabre," grossièrement exécutée dans le champ de notre tissu, se retrouve sur deux soies d'Antinoé, des serges toutes les deux. La première (MG 1.295) (*Fig. 66*), dont notre Figure 23 donne un croquis, représente les doubles palmettes également en quinconces, placées sur des socles en escalier renversé,[53] l'autre (*Fig. 17*)

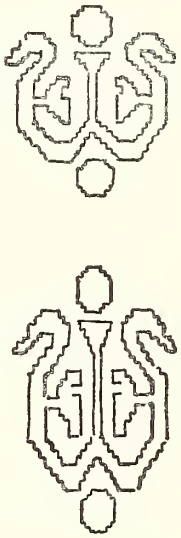


Fig. 22—Double Palmette du Musée Guimet 1118

[50] *A Survey of Persian Art,* IV, Pl. 118, B et D, plaques en or repoussé, Caucase. Cette planche semble appartenir à l'article, *ibid.,* I, 367 du texte, "Achaemenid Metalwork."

[51] Les trois feuilles des Figures 19–21 sont prises: (19) dans Pfister, *Tissus coptes du Louvre,* Pl. 48 (tissu de laine, probablement sassanide, Antinoé); (20) von Falke, *op. cit.,* Fig. 40 (soie d'Antinoé aux dauphins, Lyon); (21) F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien* (Berlin, 1923), Pl. 95 (soie sassanide du Victoria and Albert Museum, épaule de Sīmurgh). On a trouvé des feuilles analogues à Kish (Baltrušaïtis, *op. cit.,* p. 608, Fig. 186 a: Stucs sassanides)—La tige de la Fig. 21 se développe des deux côtes en un rinceau, ce qui l'apparente avec les frises achémenides où des palmettes et des arbres sont reliés entre eux par des arceaux (Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.,* V, Fig. 345 et 348: Persépolis et Suse).

[52] H. Peirce et R. Tyler, *L'Art byzantin* (Paris, 1932–34), I, Pl. 65 b: Tapisserie Düsseldorf; Pl. 140: Relief du Caire; Pl. 157: Châle de Sabine (Apollon et Daphné) MG.

[53] Le motif surmontant la tige centrale est très peu lisible, toutes les couleurs de ce tissu ont du reste beaucoup souffert. Voir pour les difficultés de la teinture de la soie: R. Pfister, "Gobelins sassanides du Musée de Lyon," *Revue des arts asiatiques,* VI (1929–30), 20 et ci-après, p. 72.

se trouve au Musée de Lyon (n° 391), ce sont des médaillons [54] presque circulaires, en quinconces également, dont les uns renferment une double palmette, tandis que les autres montrent une tête d'animal, encadrée de deux ailes, rappelant le chien-oiseau mythologique Sīmurgh.[55] La double palmette revient dans un grand nombre de monuments sassanides et même musulmans. Elle est utilisée dans les décorations en stuc de Ctésiphon,[56] elle figure sur des bijoux en or (*Fig. 24*) et dans les chapiteaux représentés sur un vase d'argent (*Fig. 25*) de l'Ermitage.[57] R. Koechlin a signalé un motif analogue (*Fig. 26*) dans le décor d'une coupe de l'époque sassanide trouvée à Suse.[58] Cet ornement revient á l'époque musulmane dans de nombreuses variantes, notamment dans les revêtements de stuc [59] de Sāmarrā.

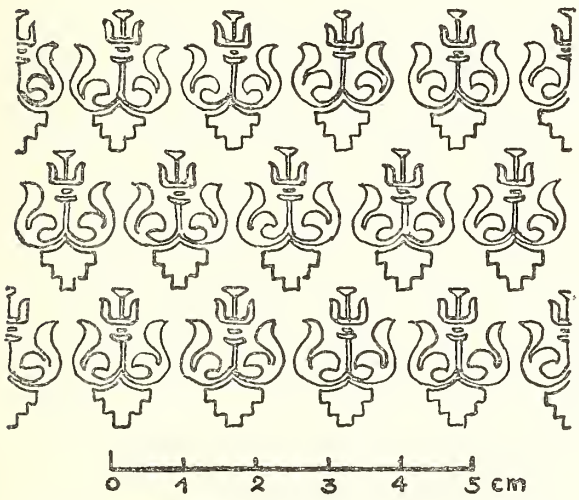
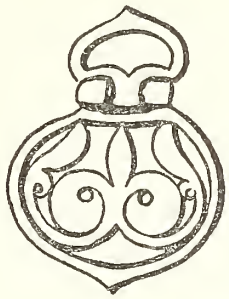


Fig. 23—Croquis d'une Soierie Sassanide Musée Guimet 1295



D'après Strzygowski

Fig. 24—Bijou en Or du Trésor Albanais, Metropolitan Museum



D'après Orbeli

Fig. 25—Décor d'un Vase d'Argent Sassanide, Ermitage

Dans le nord de la Perse, au palais de Dāmghān, les palmettes sont plus riches mais le "candélabre"

[54] Voir les remarques sur ce tissu et aussi sur les ailes et palmettes sassanides dans *ibid.*, p. 11.

[55] J. Orbeli et C. Trever, *Orfèvrerie sassanide* (Leningrad-Moscou, 1935), Pl. 35, 40, 48. L'animal de Lyon porte un collier et une perle (?) qui manquent sur les pièces de l'Ermitage; le collier au moins existe au Ṭāḳ-i-Bustān (Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pl. 94).

[56] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, Pl. II H: décor en stuc (octogones) Ma'aridh V.

[57] Voir pour la Figure 24 J. Strzygowski, "Les Elément proprement asiatiques dans l'art," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, VI (1929), Pl. VII a (à droite), et pour le vase de l'Ermitage (*Fig. 25*), Orbeli et Trever, *op. cit.*, Pl. 46.

[58] R. Koechlin, *Les Céramiques musulmanes de Suse au Musée du Louvre, Mém. de la mission archéol. en Perse* (Paris, 1928), XIX, Pl. XXII, No. 154 (coupe), p. 93.

[59] E. Herzfeld, *Der Wandschmuck der Bauten von Samarra and seine Ornamentik* (Berlin, 1923), Pl. LXV, Ornement 172; Pl. LXXXII, Ornement 231, et p. 169.

est réduit à une petite fleur.[60] Il s'agit là d'un des motifs les plus populaires créés par la décoration sassanide.

Les bordures du MG 1.118, très simples, ont un caractère oriental prononcé. On peut les faire dériver des franges qu'on avait dans tout l'Orient l'habitude de nouer et de tresser avec les bouts des fils de chaîne. Les exemples de ces franges sont nombreux,[61] il est possible que ce soient des combinaisons de fils de franges qui ont donné l'idée de la décoration de certains "arbres sacrés" d'Assyrie; on a obtenu ainsi des arcades qui s'entrecroisent.[62] Dans le cas du 1.118, l'origine du motif aurait été perdue de vue complètement puisque les "franges" se développent surtout du côté de l'intérieur du tissu. Ces arceaux couronnés par des boutons pourraient être rapprochés aussi des boutons et fleurs de lotus reliés par leurs tiges souples dans certaines bordures égyptiennes et assyriennes.[63] Ces arceaux, d'abord simples, se dédoublent ensuite, peut-être en passant dans la céramique grecque. A Cyrène, le lotus est remplacé par la grenade qui remplit du reste déjà le même rôle en Assyrie; [64] à Rhodes et en Grèce, ces motifs ont eu beaucoup de succès.[65] Les bordures grossières du MG 1.118 ne rappellent que d'assez loin ces décorations élégantes.[66]



D'après Koechlin

Fig. 26—Motif Sassanide d'une Coupe de Suse

Nous venons de voir que le champ des trois coussins est recouvert d'une façon uniforme d'un semis en quinconces, procédé très vieux puisqu'il a été pratiqué dans l'ancien Élam.[67] C'est le principe du tapis oriental qui, pour l'époque assyrienne, est représenté surtout par la dalle du palais d'Ashurbanipal (British Museum) déjà citée, nous avons là aussi l'exemple des bordures multiples. A côté de cette belle pièce, nos coussins paraissent bien modestes et frustes.

Au III[e] siècle avant J-Chr. la Perse possédait ses manufactures particulières; Athénée signale l'existence à Alexandrie, sous le règne de Ptolémée Philadelphe, de tapis d'origine persane sur

[60] A. U. Pope, "Dâmghân," *Illus. London News,* CLXXX (March, 1932), 482–84. Le motif "au candélabre" figure aussi dans le chapiteau de la soierie aux paons d'Aix-la-Chapelle (Falke, *op. cit.,* Fig. 43) que nous considérons avec cet auteur comme d'origine sassanide. Peirce et Tyler (*op. cit.,* II, Pl. 47 a et p. 83) estiment que l'acanthe stylisée de ce chapiteau ressemble à celle du diptyque d'Aréobinde, daté de 506 (*op. cit.,* Pl. 10); or, les chapiteaux de cet ivoire montrent trois feuilles d'acanthe de même importance, alors que dans le tissu aux paons deux palmettes, qui dérivent peut-être de l'acanthe, encadrent une tige mince surmontée d'une fleurette. Des chapiteaux à "candélabres" figurent sur le tissu de Düsseldorf, censé représenter Daniel entre deux lions, qui serait alors syrien ou même byzantin. Ici comme à Aix nous trouvons une étoile à quatre branches bifides qui vient bien de l'Iran. Il serait utile de comparer ces deux pièces au point de vue facture et colorant.

[61] Voir notamment Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.,* II (1884), Figs. 23 et 24 [Khorsabad] et surtout E. A. Wallis Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum* (London, 1914), Pl. XXIX [Ashur-Nazir-Pal, 885–860 av. J-Chr.].

[62] *Ibid.,* Pl. XLV ['Calah-Nimrûd].

[63] Voir notamment une dalle provenant du palais d'Ashurbanipal: H. R. Hall, "Sculpture babylonienne et assyrienne au British Museum," *Ars asiatica,* XI (1928), Pl. LVI.

[64] Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.,* II (1884), Fig. 128: Brique émaillée du British Museum.

[65] *Ibid.,* IX (1911). Figs. 216, 227, 242 [Cyrène], 263; *ibid.,* X (1914), Figs. 9, 35, 91, 150, 260.

[66] Les deux soies MG 1.295 et Lyon 391 (*Figs. 23 et 17*) sont également beaucoup plus fines que notre coussin; ceci s'explique en partie par l'exécution robuste de ce dernier, conditionnée par l'usage auquel un coussin est destiné, mais il est possible également que coussin et soies soient inspirés d'un modèle plus ancien que nous ne possédons pas.

[67] Jéquier, *op. cit.,* Fig. 135; semis de "coeurs."

lesquels étaient représentés des animaux.[68] Dès l'époque des Sassanides, c'est la Susiane [69] qui paraît avoir été réputée pour les tapis. Ṭabarī [70] raconte que lors de la guerre du Yémen, un certain Pābak chargé par Khusrō Ier d'établir les listes de l'armée se faisait construire, sur la place ou l'armée se rassemblait, une estrade recouverte de tapis susiens.

Nous pensons du reste que s'est bien dans le Khūzistān (Susiane) qu'on avait fait l'acquisition de l'appareillage chinois, probablement avant le milieu du IIIe siècle. Ce progrès immense a alors permis de fabriquer des soieries façonnées aussi bien que des tapis (tissés), les uns comme les autres utilisant en principe le même métier à la tire. Les initiatives de Shāpūr Ier (voir p. 65) montrent nettement que le Khūzistān bénéficiait de la sollicitude royale.

ORIGINE DES SOIERIES D'ANTINOÉ

Nous venons de voir que les trois coussins doivent appartenir à la fin de la première période d'Antinoé, période allant de sa fondation en 130 à la fin du IIIe siècle et que, d'autre part, la facture de ces tissus ne correspond en rien à la production de l'Égypte contemporaine. Dans la même nécropole, Gayet a trouvé des soieries, dont le caractère est également très différent de ce que l'Égypte hellénistique a produit et dont certaines montrent au contraire des analogies frappantes avec nos coussins. Ces soies, découpées en bandes, décoraient des vêtements qui n'avaient rien d'égyptien ou de grec non plus. Gayet [71] leur a, dès 1897 attribué une origine asiatique. Il s'agit de grands manteaux et de jambières, en laine habituellement très fine, la plupart de teinte rouge éclatant ou bleu clair, devenue vert-gris.

Des vêtements de même nature, garnis de soieries analogues, ont été trouvés à Antinoé même, vers 1898, par Carl Schmidt; rien n'a été publié sur ces fouilles [72] dont les produits ont été remis au Musée égyptien de Berlin (pour les vêtements entiers) et au Schlossmuseum pour les soieries.[73]

Heureusement, la description que Gayet donne de ces vêtements décorés de soieries est suffisamment précise pour pouvoir les identifier avec ceux rapportés par C. Schmidt et reproduits par Tilke.

[68] Saglio, *op. cit.*, p. 46 (art. tapes), voir *Athén.* V, 197 b.

[69] Al-Djāḥiẓ, *"Al-Tabaṣṣur bi'l-Tidjāra,* éd. Hasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb," *Revue de l'acad. arabe de Damas,* XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 347, note que Suse (Sūs) produit des couvertures (djilāl) et des tapis de selle (coussins-barādhi). Abu'l-Ḳāsim mentionne des étoffes d'ameublement (maḳā'id) pour Shustar. La réputation des ateliers royaux sassanides du Khūzistān est aussi attestée par le fait que tous les princes (musulmans) qui régnèrent en Irak, entretinrent une manufacture d'état à Shustar: Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna . . .*, ed. M. J. Goeje (Leyden, 1873), p. 175, voir A. Grohmann, "Ṭirāz," *Encycl. de l'Islām* (Leyde-Paris, 1913–38), IV, 832.

[70] T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden* [Aus der arabischen *Chronik* des Tabari] (Leyden, 1879), p. 248. (=Nöldeke–Tabari).

[71] *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

[72] Le Prof. C. Schmidt ne s'est intéressé qu'accidentellement aux tissus, son activité scientifique étant dirigée vers l'étude des papyrus, coptes en particulier; c'est lui qui a eu le très grand mérite de reconnaître la valeur exceptionnelle des documents manichéens découverts en 1930 dans le Fayoum.

[73] Des spécimens de ces vêtements ont été reproduits par M. Tilke, *Le Costume en Orient* (Berlin, 1922), Pl. XXVII ("manteau persan en fine laine brillante" No. 14.231). D'autres reproductions chez Wulff et Volbach, *op. cit.* Nous avons donné le croquis de la jambière 14.321 en 1928, "La Décoration des étoffes d'Antinoé," p. 232, Fig. 7. En ce qui concerne les soieries d'Antinoé conservées à Berlin, on en trouvera les plus importantes chez O. von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei* (2e éd.; Berlin, 1921), p. 3, Figs. 9, 10, 11, 14, 20 et Pl. I; voir aussi Pfister, "Gobelins sassanides du Musée de Lyon," p. 1 et Pfister, "Les Premières soies sassanides," II, 461.

Nous citons selon Gayet: "Manteau long garni de bandes de soieries brochées, avec revers de soie et col galonné et gansé. La manche est longue, évasée sur la main, garnie d'un parement de soie et restait flottante sur l'épaule." [74]

Le manteau de Berlin, 14.231 [75] est long de 118 cm, les manches sont rétrécies aux poignets et évasées sur les mains; mesurées de l'aisselle, elles ont 99 cm (*Fig. 27*).[76]

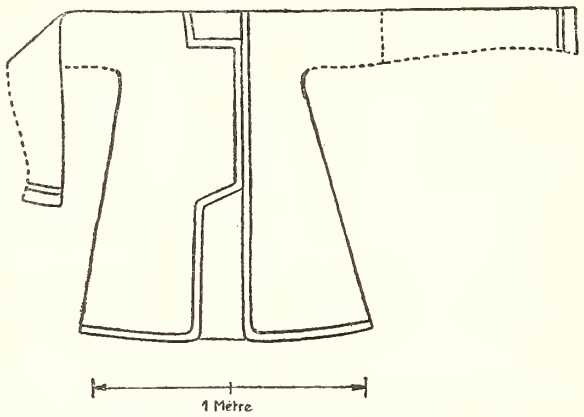


Fig. 27—Manteau Iranien Trouvé à Antinoé, selon Tilke—les Pointillés Présentent des Coutures

Ce manteau est classique déja pour la Perse achémenide, on le trouve par exemple sur une statuette en argent du Musée de Berlin: [77] le manteau est posé sur les épaules, les manches pendant dans le dos; les deux bords du devant sont décorés d'une large bande.

Gayet a énuméré dans son catalogue de 1898 [78] un grand nombre de fragments de manteaux et de jambières de laine garnies de soieries. Ces tissus de laine, très souples et doux au toucher, sont tous du même type (un dessus, un dessous), les torsions sont toujours droites (Z), la chaîne est blanche ou brun clair, mince, fortement tordue, la trame est grosse, peu tordue, souvent double, de teinte éclatante, le plus souvent écarlate (teinte obtenue avec une des cochenilles de l'Orient ancien) ou alors bleu clair, devenue verdâtre. La surface de ces tissus a été grattée (cardée); l'aspect pelucheux ainsi obtenu n'est souvent conservé qu'aux endroits protégés (pour simplifier, nous parlerons de peluche, bien que ces tissus n'aient pas de rapport avec nos peluches modernes).

a)—*MG Rés. B 97*—Peluche bleue, devenue brun-verdâtre. Grand fragment, haut. 17, larg. 31 cm. (*Fig. 55*).

Chaîne brun clair, 9 fils au cm, la trame est toute feutrée; on compte 7 à 8 duites doubles. Diamètre des laines: chaîne 30–36 μ, trame (moyenne) [79] 17, μ, jarre de 36 μ, canal médullaire large de 12 μ.

Sur ce tissu a été cousue une bande de soie [80] large d'environ 9 cm, formant équerre. De la couture qui l'a fixée, il ne reste dans la peluche que les trous de distance en distance. Cependant, il n'y a aucun doute, cette soie a bien été trouvée â Antinoé avec la peluche qui vient d'être décrite.

b) *MG 1.115*—Partie inférieure de deux jambières (ou de manches?, voir p. 62). Fragments de tissu fin, rose (cochenille polonaise); [81] la longueur visible du bord inférieur est une fois de 15, l'autre fois de 16 cm (la

[74] A. Gayet, *Catalogue, 1898* (Paris, 1898), p. 9.

[75] Tilke, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVII.

[76] Selon Tilke, 1/20 grandeur naturelle.

[77] Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pl. 43 et p. 19; une vue du dos chez J. Heuzey, *Histoire du costume dans l'antiquité classique: L'Orient* (Paris, 1935), Pl. LI. Des manteaux analogues ont souvent été représentés; voir les Perses de la mosaïque du Museo Nazionale de Naples: "Bataille d'Alexandre"; voir aussi le sarcophage du Musée d'Istanbul, dit d'Alexandre, publié par Hamdy-Bey et T. Reinach, *Une Nécropole royale à Sidon* (Paris, 1892); si les détails ont varié le principe est toujours le même; larges bordures, manches étroites et longues.

[78] Gayet, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 41, 42, 43.

[79] On détermine le diamètre moyen en mesurant au microscope un certain nombre de fibres (au moins vingt) et en prenant la moyenne.

[80] Nous reviendrons à cette soie plus loin, p. 72. Un fragment mieux conservé est exposé au MG sous le No. 1.154 (*Fig. 56*); un autre fragment à Lyon (No. 359).

[81] Pfister, "Teinture et alchimie, etc.," pp. 35, 39, 46; la cochenille polonaise donne les mêmes réactions que la cochenille du Mexique. Elle vient des steppes de la Russie méridionale, mais les auteurs arabes l'ont signalée aussi en Perse, dans le Fārs et dans les provinces du Nord (voir R. Pfister, *Les Toiles imprimées de Fostat et l'Hindoustan* (Paris, 1938), p. 26 ou il est fait mention d'un passage de Djāḥiẓ.

jambière de Berlin, [82] a 18 cm, celle de Tilke [83] 19 cm). Chaîne 18 fils, lisière formée de deux paquets de fils; trame 28 duites. Diamètre des fibres: chaîne, moyenne 28 μ; trame, moyenne 16, 3 μ, pas de jarres. Une bande de soierie bleu et blanc [84] se trouve cousue, parallèle au bord inférieur. La couture a été faite avec un fil lin, retors Z, devenue très fragile.

c) *MG Rés. C 599* [85]—"Jambière de toile rousse." C'est un tissu de laine pelucheux, dont la surface autrefois rouge (lac-dye) a presque partout pris une teinte fauve. Triangle d'attache [86] marqué. Chaîne brun clair, 11 fils, diamètre des fibres 20–30 μ; trame très serrée, 30 duites, diamètre des fibres (moyenne) 15 μ. Comme souvent pour les rouges, on a dû teindre en pièce, après cardage, la trame elle-même est moins colorée que les poils pelucheux. Les fragments brun fauve donnent les mêmes chiffres que les rouges: chaîne 11, trame 31.

d) *MG Rés. sans no.*—Patte de peluche rouge, hauteur 17, largeur 8 cm; chaîne 8 fils brun clair, trame 10 duites; il n'y a que les poils pelucheux qui sont franchement rouges (lac-dye). Diamètre des fibres: chaîne entre 30 et 50; trame (moyenne) 14 μ, jarre de 90 μ. A l'envers du tissu, vers le bord opposé au rentré (*Fig. 53*) se trouvent les restes d'un tissu de laine beige très fin, qui a dû servir de doublure. Du même côté, il subsiste (à l'endroit) une dépression d'environ 10 mm de large, elle suit le bord et doit correspondre à un galon disparu. Des fils de couture qui subsistent sont très fragiles, ce sont des retors Z ils paraissent en lin.

e) *MG Rés. C344*—Fragment analogue au précédent, le coin arrondi est remplacé par un angle presque droit: chaîne 12 fils brun clair, diamètre de la fibre 30–45 μ; trame 7 duites doubles, bleu-vert, diamètre des fibres, 15 μ en moyenne; jarres de 45 et 65 μ. Il a dû y avoir un galon au bord, des traces de fils très fragiles subsistent.

f) *MG Rés. B256*—Fragment irrégulièr, lisière. Peluche gris-bleu. Chaîne beige, 10 fils minces, diamètre 31 μ en moyenne; trame pelucheuse, 7 doubles duites épaisses, diamètre moyen 15 μ, jarres de 30 et 45 μ.

g) *MG Rés. C581*—Fragment formant équerre; tête et lisière (?) en très mauvais état. Chaîne brun clair, 13 fils, diamètre de la laine de 30 à 60, même 75 μ; trame 10 duites doubles vert-gris, diamètre des fibres entre 12 et 30 μ, jarre de 45 μ. Ce tissu est donc bien plus grossier que les précédents. Un galon large de 45 mm a partiellement perdu sa bordure et mesure alors 32 mm, il est tissé aux cartons, fond rouge, motifs géométriques (*Fig. 54*, le galon en deux fragments).

h) *MG Rés. D1.618*—Petit fragment de peluche bleu clair. Chaîne beige, 8 fils; trame 7 duites doubles, épaisses; diamètre des fibres, chaîne de 24 à 50; trame moyenne 16 μ, jarre de 72 μ. Des restes d'un galon d'environ 13 mm. de large, fond rouge, décor difficile à distinguer, losanges?

i) *Musée de Lyon*—Débris d'un manteau bleu. Chaîne 8 fils beiges, 20–32 μ, exceptionnellement 15–20 μ. Trame 9 duites èpaisses, doubles, laine très fine, moyenne 14,8 (de 13 à 15 μ).

k) *Staatliche Museen, Berlin* (Division égyptienne probablement no. 14.255, manteau entier du type de la pl. XXVII de Tilke. Tissu bleu pelucheux, devenu vert-gris. Chaîne en laine grossière, 22–60 μ, forte torsion; trame en laine fine, pas de fibres audessus de 22 μ, moyenne 18,5 μ, torsion faible. Aucune décoration n'est conservée.

M. Roehrich, a eu l'obligeance d'examiner une de ces laines très fines, voici ses conclusions:

Tissu velouté bleu (fragment i, Lyon). Chaîne blanche en laine fine de 23 μ, trame grattée en laine extra fine de 14,8 μ de diamètre avec quelques jarres de 30 à 80 μ, il s'agit peut-être d'un duvet de chèvre du type Cachemire, les jarres contenues renforçant cette hypothèse. Fil de couture: lin.[87]

Le duvet de chèvre envisagé par M. Roehrich est surtout connu par les laines du Cachemire, utilisées pour la fabrication des châles célèbres,

[82] Pfister, "La Décoration des étoffes d'Antinoé," Fig. 7.

[83] Tilke, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVIII.

[84] Pfister, "Les Premières soies sassanides," p. 470 et Pl. LII; (MG 1115); voir notre Fig. 62, agr. 6 fois, aussi Reath et Sachs, *Persian Textiles* (Newhaven, 1937), p. 17, n. 19, 2.

[85] Gayet, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[86] Pfister, "La Décoration des étoffes d'Antinoé," Fig. 7.

[87] Nous avons déjà pu constater (sous b etc) que les soies ont été cousues avec un fil de lin t.S (ou un retors Z, de lin aussi, ce retors étant composé de fils à t.S.). Ce fait n'a rien qui puisse surprendre car il n'y a guère que le lin qui ait pu être utilisé pour ce travail à cette époque; dans un gobelin très probablement sassanide (MG 133, *Fig. 67*), tout à torsion Z, on a bien utilisé pour les blancs du lin à torsion S. A. v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chaliphen* (Wien, 1875–77), II, mentionne p. 326, que des toiles de lin d'origine syrienne et égyptienne étaient utilisées (sous les Califes) pour l'habillement des troupes arabes. Des importations analogues ont certainement été courantes du temps des Sassanides également.

légers, doux et chauds. Ce duvet est composé de fibres de structure laineuse, molles et soyeuses au toucher qui, dans les bonnes qualités, dépassent en finesse les laines de mouton les plus fines; elles s'approchent alors des soies de Chine. Un échantillon provenant des collections du Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, examiné, a donné les résultats suivants: diamètre moyen des fibres, 17 μ variant de 12 à 24 μ; sur 20 fibres mesurées, 7 sont de 15 μ. Quelques jarres de 60 μ à large canal médullaire sont présentes. Cette matière précieuse est restée longtemps ignorée en Occident. Nous allons donc traiter cette question dans son ensemble, dans l'Appendice I. On y verra entre autres que des chèvres de montagne fournissant cette laine ont existé aussi en Perse et que, pendant tout le Moyen-Age, les auteurs d'Orient ont vanté les beaux tissés produits avec cette fibre.

Dès à présent, nous tenons à dire qu'en raison même de la valeur qui a été attribuée à ce duvet, la tentation a été grande de faire passer des qualités inférieures, venant, soit de races dégenérées, soit de chameaux, ou encore des laines de mouton très fines. Au microscope, nous avons pour nous guider surtout le diamètre de la fibre; lorsque le diamètre (moyen) est supérieur à 18 μ, il peut parfaitement s'agir d'un duvet mais il est alors impossible de l'affirmer, lorsque les jarres, absentes dans les laines fines de mouton, manquent. Quant au chameau, son duvet, presque toujours coloré en brun, renferme des granulations de même teinte et la distinction est alors possible.

l) Gayet a également rencontré un type asiatique dans les vêtements féminins.[88] Une des "momies" rapportées par lui, Leukyoné, qui, rècemment, a été dépouillée de ces robes superposées, possédait entre autres une tunique de ce type. Elle n'est pas, comme la tunique égyptienne, tissée d'une seule pièce, mais cousue de plusieurs lés. L'ouverture pour faire passer la tête est arrondie, légèrement échancrée sur le devant. Il reste des fragments d'un galon étroit qui a dû en faire le tour. La manche est longue, (85 cm mesurée de l'encolure); largeur (tour) vers l'épaule, 36 cm; la couture qui part de l'aisselle s'arrête à 18 cm du bas de la manche, les deux pans triangulaires ainsi formés sont repliés dans l'intérieur. Il ne reste ainsi au bas de la manche que 16 cm du tour ne couvrant que le dessus de la main (voir croquis schématique, *Fig. 28*). Ce dispositif ressemble à celui des "jambières" MG 1.115 (ci-dessus, lettre b.). Le tissu lui-même, en laine beige, avec quelques

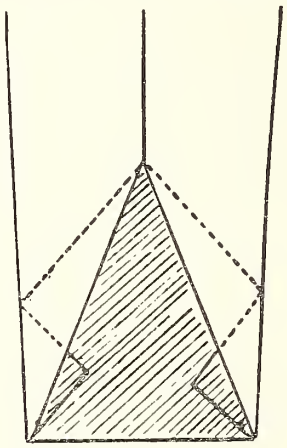


Fig. 28—Tunique de Leukyoné, Schéma de la Partie Inférieure de la Manche. Musée Guimet

rayures blanches parallèles à la tête, a une chaîne blanche, 6 fils au cm, torsion Z; la trame a 38 duites au cm, torsion Z faible; diamètre moyen des fibres 18,3 μ, jamais au-dessus de 30, jarre de 63 μ Le tissu est cardé, d'un côté au moins (les indications de Gayet au sujet de cette "momie" sont contradictoires).[89]

m) Un tissu de la Rés. C 344 (*Fig. 58*) se comporte de façon analogue; il est mentionné, pas très exactement.[90] Couleur jaune d'or, rayures beige. Chaîne beige torsion Z, 10 fils; trame orange, torsion Z, 44 duites, diamètre moyen 22 μ, le tissu est gratté et porte un galon rouge (lac-dye) large de 28 mm, cousu avec un fil de lin.[91] Nous n'avons pas rencontré de jarre, il peut donc s'agir ici d'une laine de mouton très fine, importée, la torsion, le galon, la finesse même l'indiquent.

Les peluches épaisses des manteaux ont quelquefois

[88] Gayet, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[89] A. Gayet, *Catalogue, 1902* (Paris, 1902), pp. 30 et 33.

[90] Gayet, *Catalogue, 1898*, p. 52.

[91] Voir n. 87. Sur la Fig. 58, le galon a été retourné, l'envers étant mieux conservé.

été réutilisées à Antinoé; c'est ainsi que nous nous expliquons:

n) Fragment de la Rés., No. D 1379; une peluche bleu foncé et une autre brun moyen ont été cousues ensemble. Deux galons bleu-noir, larges de 11 mm, qui montrent des traces d'un modeste décor blanc se croisent, l'un d'eux recouvre la couture qui réunit les deux peluches. Ces deux tissus sont du type déjà décrit: chaîne 6 fils bruns, torsion Z; trame 6 duites doubles, torsion Z, la trame brune est un peu plus fine que la bleue; les fibres de la première sont en moyenne de 16 μ, les bleues 17,5 μ; jarre de 45 μ.

o) Un autre exemple de remploi de tissus importés nous paraît être un document de la Rés. MG, trouvé avec le B97 (voir ci-dessus, lettre a). Deux fragments d'une soie à menu décor géométrique bleu sur crème sont cousus ensemble et fixés sur un tissu de laine lâche, beige, assez fin (*Fig. 57*). La chaîne particulièrement fragile, est un retors S, 15–16 fils; trame torsion S, 25 à 28 au cm, diamètre de 12 à 21, moyenne 16 μ. La soie a une chaîne retors S, brun clair, les trames lient en serge. Les coutures sont faites avec un fils retors Z, bleu-noir, très fragile, probablement du lin.—Les fragments de soie cousus ensemble sont de même nature que les soies des manteaux sassanides; la laine qui les accompagne est beaucoup plus fine que tous les tissus analogues, authentiquement égyptiens, elle ressemble au tissu beige qui double la peluche rouge décrite ci-dessus, sous d).

p) Un spécimen du MG, Rés. sans n° a, en plusieurs grands fragments bien conservés, d'un beau rouge écarlate (cochenille polonaise, voir n. 81) possède une lisière composée de deux paquets de six gros fils blancs. Chaîne blanche, 11 fils minces, torsion Z; trame 20 duites épaisses, diamètre des fibres 18,7 en moyenne (ce sont surtout les fibres pelucheuses qui ont pris la teinte rouge). Lorsque Gayet parle de ce beau tissu [92] il dit "en bourre de soie pourpre d'Orient," alors qu'il est, sinon en duvet de chèvre, au moins en laine blanche très fine, teint en pièce à la cochenille polonaise.

Tous les tissus pelucheux rouges ou bleus, que nous avons décrits sous les lettres a–k ont incontestablement appartenu au costume sassanide, ainsi que cela résulte de la comparaison avec les vêtements entiers rapportés par Schmidt. C'est un tissu très particulier, épais, mais souple et doux au toucher, les torsions sont toujours droites, Z, la surface pelucheuse, l'aspect est soyeux. La teinture aux cochenilles, également, indique l'importation et la fabrication de luxe.

Aucune de ces particularités n'appartient à l'Égypte antérieure à la conquête musulmane. L'Égypte pharaonique avait cultivé le lin, elle avait poussé à un très haut degré la filature et le tissage de cette fibre. Elle a élevé aussi de nombreux troupeaux de moutons,[93] mais elle n'a utilisé la laine que pour des emplois grossiers et ne s'est donné aucune peine pour en améliorer la qualité. A l'époque qui nous intéresse ici, des laines de couleur ont été utilisées pour décorer certains tissus de lin selon le procédé des Gobelins. Le diamètre de ces laines varie entre 25 et 45 μ, des brins plus fins ou plus larges sont rares. Toutes ces laines d'Égypte sont, comme les lins, filées à gauche (S). Pline, même, avait noté que leur grossièreté ne permet pas d'obtenir par cardage une surface pelucheuse.[94] D'autre part, l'Égypte utilisait pour teindre en rouge la garance, colorant très solide, mais ne donnant pas les teintes bleutées particulièrement appréciées que fournissent les différentes cochenilles. Des milliers de documents montrent que l'Égypte ne disposait d'aucun des éléments nécessaires à la fabrication des étoffes que nous étudions.[95]

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[93] A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (2e éd.; London, 1934), p. 142.

[94] Pline, *op. cit.*, VIII, 73, 2 (Littré, *op. cit.*, I, 350); "La laine d'Istrie et de la Liburnie ressemble plus à du poil qu'à de la laine, elle ne peut servir à la fabrication des étoffes à longs poils . . . semblable aussi est celle d'Égypte, avec laquelle on garnit les habits usés et on les fait durer encore longtemps"—voir aussi Blümner, *op. cit.*, p. 158 (XX, 12).

[95] Même lorsque, peut-être au Ve siècle, l'Égypte s'est mise à tisser des tuniques décorées, entièrement en laine, la torsion et la matière première restent les mêmes. Le fond rouge (garance) du beau châle de Sabine (Antinoé, MG 1230 et 1245—voir Pfister, *op. cit.*, Pl. LIII; Peirce et Tyler, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. 156–57) est tissé en laine ordinaire (15–45μ) torsion S, gauche; même observation pour le magnifique panneau aux poissons (Lyon, voir R. Cox, *Les Soieries d'art* (Paris, 1914), Pl. I, aussi MG 1242); la laine qui produit le fond bleu-gris de ce gobelin a un diamètre de 20 à 45 μ, torsion S.

Du reste, Yates[96] a bien expliqué que certaines chèvres des pays froids en hiver, chauds en été, produisent en automne une laine fine sous le poil long et que, dans le Kirmān et le Cachemire, on recueille cette laine fine au peigne, lorsqu'au printemps elle se détache; Yates ajoute que, chez les Anciens, il n'y a pas trace de cet usage, ils connaissent seulement le "goats hair," le poil grossier.

Il est donc clair que les vêtements à la mode iranienne n'ont pas pu être confectionnés en Égypte même, sous une "influence sassanide," mais qu'ils ont été importés d'Asie.[97] En effet c'est l'Asie Antérieure qui a donné toute son attention à l'industrie des laines; elle a beaucoup apprécié les tissus de laine souples et doux au toucher; l'exploration des tours sépulcrales de Palmyre a produit un grand nombre d'étoffes monochromes, souvent pelucheuses, de fabrication raffinée. La finesse des laines mises en oeuvre est généralement remarquable, quelquefois extraordinaire nous avons constaté[98] torsion Z, serge, pourpre véritable, 83.000 m de trame au Kg.

Or, tout ce que nous savons démontre que l'Iran, au moins dans certaines de ses provinces, possédait au III[e] siècle un métier mécanique, dont l'idée était venue très certainement de Chine où cette grande invention était exploitée depuis des siècles.[99] Les maîtres de l'Iran, au moins depuis l'avènement des Sassanides, attachaient une grande importance à l'introduction et au développement des industries de luxe. En ce qui concerne la soie en particulier, l'Ahwāz (Susiane, Khūzistān) a pris dès le début une place prépondérante.[100] Al-Ṭabarī (mort en 923) dé-

[96] J. Yates, *Textrinum Antiquorum: An Account of the Art of Weaving among the Ancients* (London, 1843), I, 144.

[97] Nous voyons un autre exemple de tissu importé en Égypte dans le C 692 (Gayet, *op. cit.*, p. 51) tissu jaune d'or, chaîne (cachée) en soie, torsion Z, 22 fils; trame laine fine, diamètre 13–20 μ, 40 duites, torsion Z; voir *TP*, I, 37; cette étoffe s'apparente à une série de Palmyre (L 1, 2, 3, 67, 68, 69). Il y a presque identité, aussi pour la couleur avec le L 67. Notre spécimen d'Antinoé *Fig. 61*) comporte un galon, parallèle à la lisière; ce galon à fond rouge (Kermès + garance) est tissé aux cartons (voir un article de G. M. Crowfoot, "The Tablet-woven Braids from the Vestments of St. Cuthbert at Durham," *Antiquaries Journ.*, XIX (1939), No. 1, notamment Fig. 4, p. 66). Ce galon est cousu avec un retors Z, composé de deux fils de lin à torsion S; la laine du galon (chaîne) est à torsion Z; la trame est en lin torsion S. Le galon est très simple; il a probablement été cousu sur ce tissu jaune dans le pays d'origine qui doit être la Perse. Ce tissu C 692 s'apparente aux spécimens l et m (ci-dessus) que Gayet déclare appartenir au costume féminin iranien; la finesse de leur laine et la torsion Z confirment cette attribution. Ici il convient de mentionner aussi une serge losangée trouvée à Antinoé et à laquelle nous avions fait allusion dans *TP*, II, p. 48 (MG Rés. C 463) en lui attribuant aussi une origine syrienne; la laine est de couleur jaune, fortement tordue, la chaîne à S, la trame à Z, le diamètre est rarement au-dessus de 30 μ; n° de la trame 56, soit 56.000 m. au kg. On utilise encore aujourd'hui de telles oppositions de torsion pour obtenir certains effets de relief (*Fig. 59*, agr. 6.6 fois environ).

[98] *TP*, II, 24, L 43.

[99] J. F. Flanagan, "Ancient Chinese Figured Silks," *Burlington Mag.*, XXXVII (1920), 215; C. Rodon y Font, *L'Historique du métier pour la fabrication des étoffes façonnées*, trad. Hullebroeck (Paris et Liège, 1934), notamment p. 14; *TP*, III, 55, 59.

[100] Les raisons de cette faveur sont multiples. Ctésiphon était exposée depuis longtemps aux invasions romaines. Shāpūr I[er] a donc,, dès le milieu du III[e] siècle, tenu à créer une autre capitale moins menacée et en même temps plus salubre; il a choisi un site montagneux dans le Fārs à près de 1000 m. d'altitude, pas loin de la frontière de l'Ahwāz. La nouvelle résidence "Shāpūr" fut aussitôt reliée à l'Irak par des routes. Il s'agissait de traverser l'Ahwāz dans sa largeur et c'est peut-être cette circonstance qui est à l'origine de la sollicitude du roi pour cette province relativement petite, largement arrosée par le Kārūn (Dudjail=Petit Tigre), ses affluents et les nombreux canaux créés. L'Ahwāz, soigneusement irrigué, est devenu ainsi, par l'effort humain, une région favorisée, excessivement riche, où notamment la canne à sucre poussait abondamment. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 6, 246. Al-Muḳaddasī, signale que (encore au X[e] siècle) tout le sucre consommé en Perse, en Mésopotamie et en Arabie, provenait uniquement du Khūzistān, *loc. cit.* Le sucre a

crit la campagne de Shāpūr Ier (autour de 260) contre Nisibe et la Syrie [101] qui se termina par la prise d'Antioche et la capture de l'empereur Valérien. Utilisant les prisonniers [102] faits dans cette guerre le roi créa dans le Fārs et dans l'Ahwāz une série de villes; [103] il entreprit aussi notamment la construction d'une digue en pierre de taille, longue de près de 500 m,[104] sur le Kārūn immédiatement en aval de Shustar permettant ainsi l'irrigation de toute une région.[105] Ce pont-barrage n'est du reste pas le seul créé par Shāpūr Ier pour faciliter les communications à travers l'Ahwāz.

Nous ajoutons que la ville d'Ahwāz se trouvait à environ 120 km de Vahishtābādh-Ardashēr (Baṣra), le port le plus important du Golfe Persique, il est donc clair qu'après avoir porté leur choix sur le Khūzistān, les premiers Sassanides ont tout fait pour le doter de voies nombreuses et efficaces, lui permettant de recevoir la soie et d'expédier les produits finis; dont surtout le dībādj de Shustar jouissait d'une grande réputation.

La création de cette digue de Shustar a toujours été attribuée à Shāpūr Ier, mais dans la suite Shāpūr II ayant, plus de cent ans aprés, entrepris une campagne analogue avec des résultats du même ordre, les auteurs d'Orient ont de plus en plus confondu les deux règnes [106] et c'est à Shāpūr II seul qu'on a attribué l'utilisation de prisonniers pour des fins industrielles. On est même allé plus loin, on a affirmé que ce sont ces prisonniers "romains" qui auraient apporté dans le Khūzistān la fabrication du dībādj.[107] Ce ne sont pas les prisonniers qui ont pu apporter l'art de tisser le "brocart et la soie." Serjeant aussi l'a compris dans ce sens, il traduit "making them become weavers of brocade and khazz-silk there." [108] Cette utilisation de prisonniers dans la jeune industrie textile du Khūzistān a été étudiée par E. Herzfeld,[109] il est arrivé à la conclusion qu'on a constamment confondu les deux premiers Shāpūr et que le transfert de tisserands en Susiane a dû se faire dès 260, après la prise d'Antioche.

été considéré comme une des matières de grand luxe. Théophane, dans le butin tombé entre les mains d'Héraclius, en 628, au sac du château royal de Dastagird, l'énumère avec les métaux précieux, les soies, les tapis, le gingembre, le poivre et les aromates: A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les sassanides* (Copenhague, 1936), p. 463.

[101] *Chronique de Tabarî,* trad. sur la version persane par H. Zotenberg (Paris, 1869), II, 79 s.

[102] L'attitude des troupes iraniennes lors d'une victoire variait beaucoup; ainsi selon Ammien Marcellin, après le siège d'Amid (en 359): "les hommes armés et ceux qui étaient sans armes furent massacrés comme des bestiaux sans distinction de sexe" (Christensen, *op. cit.,* p. 244) alors que l'année suivante, lorsque la forteresse de Sindjār (à l'ouest de Mossoul) tomba aux mains des Iraniens, peu de personnes furent tuées à l'entrée des troupes victorieuses. Tous les habitants et les survivants de la garnison romaine furent faits prisonniers sur l'ordre de Shāpūr II et envoyés dans des contrées éloignées de l'empire (Ammien Marcellin, XX, 6, 7, voir Christensen, *op. cit.,* p. 246).

[103] Ṭabarī, *op. cit.,* p. 84.

[104] Le Strange, *op. cit.,* pp. 234, 235.

[105] Des restes de ce barrage subsistent encore; *Mém. de la délégation en Perse,* VII, 167 s. renferment une étude technique de D. L. Graadt van Roggen sur ces travaux hydrauliques, exécutés sous Shāpūr Ier, sans doute avec le concours des ingénieurs de l'armée romaine; ils se distinguent avantageusement de ceux du temps de Shāpūr II, un siècle plus tard, qui marquent une décadence. Nous sommes redevables à M. de Mecquenem de nombreux renseignements sur la géographie de la Susiane ancienne, nous lui en sommes tres reconnaissant.

[106] Nöldeke, *op cit.,* p. 32 n. du traducteur.

[107] Le mot dībadj (dībā) est généralement traduit par brocart. Or ce dernier terme désigne des tissus de soie à grand dessin, renfermant des fils d'or et d'argent, représentés de notre temps par les ornements d'église—H. Algoud, *Grammaire des arts de la soie* (Paris, 1912), p. 121. L'expression dībādj revenant très souvent chez les auteurs, il semble qu'on doive la traduire par soieries façonnées (décorées), en opposition au khazz qui doit représenter plutôt les soies unies, taffetas et autres. On évite ainsi une inconsistence qui se trouve dans la formule "brocarts et soies" car les brocarts sont également des soies. Lorsqu'il s'agit d'une soierie enrichie de fils d'or et d'argent, les auteurs arabes ne manquent pas de le

Les fouilles de Palmyre nous ont appris qu'à ce moment la Syrie connaissait la serge,[110] ignorée en Égypte, qu'elle savait manipuler la soie [111] venue de Chine, mais qu'elle n'utilisait qu'un métier simple, incapable de produire des étoffes façonnées (décorées). Les captifs araméens, s'il n'était pas dans leur pouvoir d'apporter une grande invention, pouvaient donc représenter une main d'oeuvre adroite et connaissant la matière.[112]

Le Khūzistān (Ahwāz) placé entre les deux capitales est ainsi devenu, grâce à la sollicitude royale, le foyer de l'industrie textile qui se répand de là dans le Fārs voisin et ailleurs. Ainsi le Gouvernement pouvait exploiter à fond la situation unique que lui procurait la Route de la Soie,[113] précaire d'abord, mais devenue plus sûre depuis l'an 73 de notre ère.[114] Il est probable que, dès le début du III[e] siècle, les pouvoirs publics aient réussi à mettre la Susiane en possession d'un métier perfectionné, inspiré du modèle chinois. L'afflux des prisonniers araméens a permis de développer cette jeune industrie, dont les produits répondaient aux besoins de luxe de la royauté.

En effet, les vêtements jouaient un grand rôle dans les cadeaux officiels. Al-Djāḥiẓ [115] atteste qu'Ardashīr I[er] (224–41) distribuait à la fête du printemps à son entourage ses habits d'hiver et, à la fête de l'automne, ses vêtements d'été. Cette coutume a été suivie par d'autres rois.[116] Elle a, dans la suite, été adoptée par les califes, elle est entrée dans la vie des cours de tout l'Orient islamique et on sait l'importance que les ṭirāz officiels ont pris en Égypte, à Bagdad et ailleurs.[117]

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mentionner [voir notamment Miskawaihī, *The Eclipse . . .*, trad. H. F. Amedroz et D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1920), I, 244; Ibn Ḥawḳal parle (pour Fasā) de robes en washy, dont la variété à fils d'or (mudhahhab) est incomparable; Bidlīsī parle de gold brocades (zarbaft)—ces trois citations selon R. B. Serjeant, "Material for a History of Islamic Textiles," *Ars Islamica*, X (1943), 73, 81, 99. Du reste la fabrication du dībādj ne peut pas être un invention araméenne apportée par les prisonniers "romains," pour la bonne raison que ce mot est iranien, qu'il a passé dans l'araméen et puis dans l'arabe seulement plus tard, mais encore avant Mahomet—voir *Encycl. Islām.*, s.v. Dībādj et ici même p. 68.

[108] Serjeant, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

[109] E. Herzfeld, *Malereien von Samarra* (Berlin, 1927), p. 69.

[110] *TP*, I, 36; *TP*, II, 24, 47, 48; *TP*, III, 36, 61; voir aussi *Mélanges Linossier*, II, 472.

[111] *TP*, I, 42, S.6; *TP*, II, 35, S.38 et p. 36.

[112] La double conclusion: 1) Les prisonniers araméens n'ont pas apporté le procédé mécanique de tissage et 2) cette utilisation des prisonniers comme tisseurs se place sous le règne de Shāpūr I[er], concorde du reste absolument avec ce que nous avons constaté à Palmyre (voir ci-dessus) et à Antinoé; les trois coussins et les premières soieries, exigeant les uns et les autres, l'emploi d'un métier à la tire, ont été trouvés dans le quartier B renfermant des masques en plâtre, antérieur à l'an 300. Le métier à la tire étant indispensable, ce n'est que l'Iran qui avait intérêt à se le procurer, car l'Iran seul disposait librement de la soie. Les autres pays n'en recevaient que ce que l'Iran voulait bien leur céder.

[113] R. Grousset, *Histoire Extrême-Orient* (Paris, 1929), I, 210 s.; aussi W. Geiger et E. Kuhn, *Grundriss. der iran. Philologie* (Strassburg, 1896–1904), II, 477, n. 1 (Justi).

[114] *TP*, III, 55.

[115] al-Djāḥiẓ, *Kitābu't-Tādj* (le Caire, 1914), cité d'après Christensen, *op. cit.*, p. 403. Un exemple tardif de ces coutumes somptuaires est donné par J. B. Tavernier, *Les Six voyages* (Paris, 1679), I, 113: "Le roy (de Perse) touché d'une si haute vertu se fit ôter ses habits à l'heure mesme et les donner au Nazar, ce qui est le plus grand honneur que les Roys de Perse puissent faire à un sujet, et on lui en apporta d'autres avec lesquels il retourna au Palais" (premier voyage, commencé fin 1632).

[116] Christensen, *op. cit.*, p. 404.

[117] Serjeant (*op. cit.*, IX, 60) écrit à ce sujet: "A feature of the courts of both the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties was the large quantity of textiles required there for both clothing and furnishings. An annual gift of clothing was one of the perquisites of the caliphal officers, and was given as a gift of honor to those whom the caliph wished to reward. This gave rise to the institution of those palace factories known as ṭirāz." Serjeant (*ibid.*) ajoute du reste que, selon Djawālīḳī ṭirāz est un mot persan arabisé et que les Arabes l'ont utilisé, dès l'époque du Prophète. Cette institution vient donc des Sassanides.

Les manteaux d'Antinoé, très différents dans leur matière, leur facture et leur forme de ce que l'Égypte des III^e, IV^e et V^e siècles a produit, étaient garnis de bandes [118] découpées dans des soieries à dessins, les premières auxquelles on puisse assigner une origine non chinoise. Or ces soieries (et nous l'avons vu, aussi les trois coussins en laine) exigent l'emploi d'un métier mécanique que le monde méditerranéen no connaissait pas. Il est naturel de penser que ces soies aient été tissées dans le pays même qui a fourni les vêtements, l'Iran, qui seul possédait la matière et les autres éléments pour développer cette industrie. L'Appendice II, montrera du reste que la matière même des manteaux, le duvet, a été utilisé concurremment avec la soie dans le tissage des soieries.

L'inventaire des soies d'Antinoé fournira une contribution importante à l'histoire de ce tissage pour toute la durée de la dynastie des Sassanides, Antinoé ayant perdu son rang de ville hellénistique au moment même de la conquête arabe. Il n'est cependant pas possible d'entreprendre ce travail en ce moment, nous nous contentons d' examiner le décor des trois coussins dans son rapport avec certaines soieries des manteaux; cet examen nous montrera aussi que tout en étant d'origine composite, ce décor n'a rien de commun avec l'ornementation des textiles égyptiens du III^e et du IV^e siècles, qui nous sont connus par un très grand nombre d'exemples. C'est seulement dans la suite, probablement au cours du V^e siècle, que la décoration évolue en Égypte en s'inspirant des motifs et des coloris sassanides.

CONCLUSIONS

Le présent travail a été entrepris sous l'impression que les tissus découverts à Antinoé n'ont jamais été examinés à fond et qu'on n'a jamais tiré un parti satisfaisant de cet ensemble de textiles, le plus intéressant, à notre avis, qu'on ait découvert dans l'Égypte préislamique. Gayet ayant fouillé ce site pendant plus de dix ans s'est trouvé devant une telle abondance de pièces qu'il s'est contenté d'un examen très superficiel. Personne n'a voulu se donner la peine de chercher dans les publications de Gayet les éléments solides qui pourraient permettre de tirer parti des documents accumulés.[119]

Nous croyons avoir démontré que les trois coussins doivent être de la fin du III^e siècle et qu'ils ont été tissés sur un métier perfectionné ("draw loom"); ce métier est encore plus nécessaire pour les soieries, étant donnée la finesse des fils de soie. Une origine étrangère et commune est donc probable, elle est confirmée par l'analogie dans le style. La même origine s'impose pour les vêtements, en duvet de chèvre et, comme les coussins, à torsion Z.

Ces trois séries de textiles ont dû venir de l'Iran, seul pays en possession de la soie, et qui, pour exploiter cette matière, à dû faire l'impossible pour se procurer le métier chinois. Nous avons ve les grands efforts faits au III^e siècle par les premiers Sassanides pour développer les industries du Khūzistān; il est probable que ces fabrications nouvelles aient été montées dans cette province. Dans tous les cas, l'Orient méditerranéen que nous connaissons bien par l'Égypte et aussi un peu par la Syrie, n'utilisait au III^e (et même au IV^e siècle) ni le métier à la tire, ni la soie (sauf en Syrie), ni le duvet de chèvre; l'Égypte du reste ne pratiquait que la torsion gauche (S).

L'usage de distribuer des vêtements à leur entourage n'a pas été pratiqué seulement pas les Califes, mais aussi par les dignitaires (*ibid.*, p. 75).

[118] Ces bandes plus ou moins larges décoraient les bords des manteaux; des morceaux plus grands étaient nécessaires pour garnir les revers et le bas des manches; c'est ainsi que les *chevaux ailés*, enfermés dans de cercles garnis de grosses perles (*MG*, 1337/8) ornaient des manchettes (Gayet, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 et 41, B 165).

[119] A notre connaissance, Kendrick (*op. cit.*, III, 71) et Herzfeld (*op. cit.*, p. 20) seuls ont affirmé l'origine étrangère des soieries d'Antinoé, Herzfeld est arrivé, en se basant sur le décor, à la conviction qu'elles devaient être attribuées au Khūzistān.

APPENDICE I—LES LAINES FINES DU CACHEMIRE ET DE LA PERSE

On distingue chez les mammifères deux sortes de poils: la jarre et le duvet. La jarre est longue, épaisse, rigide; le duvet est plus court, fin, souple, souvent frisé. La laine qui constitue notamment la toison du mouton est un duvet plus ou moins fin et se distingue des jarres par sa tendance naturelle à friser. On est arrivé à faire disparaître presque complètement les poils jarreux de la toison du mouton; on n'en trouve qu'à l'encolure, aux fesses et à la queue de la bête. Il existe d'autres animaux capables de fournir une laine; ce sont (dans l'Ancien Monde) certaines chèvres de montagne et les chameaux; ils produisent en automne un duvet plus fin que la laine de mouton et qui tombe au printemps; on peut alors le récolter avec un peigne. Nous avons vu plus haut que James Yates, en 1843, a parfaitement fait cette distinction, en ajoutant que les Anciens ignoraient ce duvet; [120] ils ne parlent que de "goats hair," le poil grossier. Du reste, le dictionnaire *Burhān-i-Ḳāṭi'* dit à l'article "Kork"—duvet souple qui se développe à la base des poils des chèvres, on le recueille au moyen d'un peigne. Vullers résume: Kurk—lana mollis caprae quae pectinando colligitur.

Dès l'époque sassanide il existait des expressions d'origine iranienne pour cette fibre précieuse. Nous devons à l'obligeance de M. Benveniste le terme buzašm qui doit représenter buz-pašm = laine de chèvre, et que Vullers définit: lana mollis caprina quae depectitur et telis subtilissimis (šāl) [121] texendis adhibetur. C'est donc bien la laine de chévre qui produit les fameux châles du Cachemire et du Kerman. Il y a encore un autre terme, formé avec buz (chèvre), c'est buzyūn qu'on traduit par brocart; or, M. Benveniste estime que ce mot persan ancien s'explique par buz-gūn = poil de chèvre. Or, gūn au sens de poil (sens courant en avestique, en sogdien, et qui survit en certains dialectes modernes, mais non en persan) atteste un vieux composé; il n'est, dans tous les cas, pas d'origine arabe. Le *Kitāb al-Mu'arrab* [122] définit sundus, un autre mot intéressant pour nous, comme suit: Sundus, brocart fin (dībādj) sur lequel les commentateurs sont d'accord. Al-Laith, qui selon M. Serjeant a dû vivre au IIe siècle H., dit: "Sundus est une espèce de buzyūn (voir ci-dessus) fabriqué avec du mar'izā. Les philologues estiment que c'est un mot étranger" (non arabe). Selon M. Benveniste, le mot doit être d'origine iranienne, bien que la formation ne soit pas claire. Il est indirectement attesté en pehlevi par le sogdien sndus (à lire sandus ou sundus): a silk (or brocade) garment, qui en provient. De sundus dérive la forme arménienne, sndus qui traduit τρίχαπτον = tissu très fin; on a aussi en néo-grec σενδές = brocart.

Sundus qui, d'après al-Laith désigne un brocart à base de duvet de chèvre (mar'izā = mir'izzā en arabe = duvet de chèvre), est donc d'origine iranienne ancienne, comme buzyūn du reste.

Mais aussi le mot dībādj, utilisé par tous les auteurs arabes pour désigner les "brocarts" (voir n. 107) est, d'après l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islam*,[123] la forme arabisée du persan dībā ou dībāh (tissu bigarré entièrement en soie, abrīsham, en arabe ibrīsam. En fait, le mot arabe dībāḳ dībādj remonte au pehlevi dēpāk, emprunté aussi par l'Arménien (dipak) par l'intermédiaire de l'araméen, cf. syriaque dybg' = *vestis auropicta* (communication de M Benveniste). En tous cas

[120] Si les Anciens ont ignoré cette matière, il est cependant possible que des spécimens soient venus jusqu'à Rome. Selon I. Kennedy, "The Later Kushana," *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1913, p. 1061, un châle de l'Inde aurrait fait partie des cadeaux que le roi sassanide Bahrām Ier (273–76) a adressés à l'Empereur Aurélien, après la chute de Palmyre (*Vopisc. Vit. Aurel.* c. 29 [*Script. Hist. Aug.*]). Nous devons cette référence à l'obligeance de M. R. Ghirshman.

[121] Šāl a fourni shawl et châle.

[122] Éd E. Sachau (Leipzig, 1867), p. 67.

[123] I, 993, C. H. Becker.

le mot dībādj avait été introduit dans la langue arabe déjà du temps de Mahomet, attendu qu'on le rencontre dans un poème de Ḥassān b. Thābit.[124]

L'Iran sassanide possédait donc des expressions bien à lui pour désigner le duvet de chèvre et les tissus façonnés obtenus avec cette matière aussi bien qu'avec la soie. Ceci confirme tous les arguments que nous avons invoqués pour l'origine iranienne de ces industries.[125]

Pendant tout le Moyen-Age, les auteurs musulmans font l'éloge des beaux tissus fabriqués dans les pays de l'ancien Iran, avec la laine (le duvet) des chèvres. Ils écrivent presque tous en arabe et font alors la distinction: sha'r = poil et mir'izz ou mar'izzā = duvet de chèvre.[126] Razès,[127] médecin célèbre, dit: La laine (ṣūf) et le poil (sha'r) sont chauds et rudes, . . . quant au wabar [128] de chameau et de chèvre, il est chaud, fortifie le corps . . .

Al-Djarīr [129] dit dans une ode satirique visant al-Taim: "Al-Ḥanẓalī vous habille d'un vêtement de laine et de mir'izā" (R.B. Serjeant); c'est exactement la combinaison que nous connaissons par les manteaux sassanides.

Al-Djāḥiz, mort très âgé (en 869, Serjeant) parle [130] des vêtements en mir'iz de Chiraz et du fin duvet de chèvre dans les soies-ibrīsm de Fasā. Le même ms (p. 336/7) parle de tapis d'Arménie (fursh, soit tissus d'ameublement) les plus coûteux, de teinte cramoisie et en duvet de chèvre à double trame (al-mir'izzā al-Ḳirmizi al-Armanī al-munayyar).

Ibn Ḥawḳal [131] aussi parle de l'Arménie (Dabīl) qui vend des étoffes (thiyāb) en mir'izz et laine, teintes au Kermès.[132]

Mardin (au Sud d'Āmid et de Maiyāfāriḳīn) a fabriqué selon Ibn Baṭṭūṭa des tissus en mir'izz.

Nous avons laissé de côté tous les auteurs qui parlent de sha'r, poil de chèvre, et cependant le plus souvent le contexte prouve qu'il s'agit de

[124] *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, IV, 17, selon S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leyden, 1886), p. 41.

[125] Depuis un moment qu'il est difficile de déterminer car les auteurs d'Orient qui nous intéressent écrivent très rarement en Persan, on trouve en Iran pour le duvet de chèvre le mot kurk, kork, qui est utilisé encore aujourd'hui (M. Massé). Ce terme est d'origine turque où le mot kürk est attesté dans le sens de fourrure dès le XIe siècle (Kāchghārī, I, 295, ligne 7); d'après le *Kitāb al-Idrāk* d'Abū Ḥaiyān (2e moitié du XIIIe siècle) kürk signifie "fourrure de bélier" (Kibâchiyye) en turc de cette époque (nous devons ces indications sur le vocabulaire turc à l'obligeance de M. J. Deny).

[126] Selon une aimable communication de M. R. B. Serjeant (16. V. 45) mir'izz, d'origine araméenne, signifie dans cette langue laine de chèvre ('amar=laine, izza= chèvre). Or, Christensen explique "Parmi les idiomes sémitiques l'Araméen était devenu de bonne heure d'un usage commun dans toute l'Asie Antérieure. Il était employé dans les chancelleries des Achémenides . . . . on se servait de l'écriture araméene, même pour les documents en langue perse et c'est là l'origine de l'écriture pehlevie" (*op. cit.*, p. 44). M. Serjeant est l'auteur d'une étude qui nous a été particulièrement précieuse, sur les textiles islamiques antérieurs à la conquête mongole (*op. cit.*, t. IX et X); nous lui devons, d'autre part, un grand nombre de renseignements intéressant notre enquête.

[127] Cité par Ibn al-Baiṭār, dans son *Traité des simples*, trad. L. Leclerc (Paris, 1877–83), II, 385, No. 1422 (ṣūf=laine).

[128] Wabar désigne plus particulièrement le duvet de chameau.

[129] Poete de l'époque Omeyyade, mort vers 730.

[130] *Al-Tabaṣṣur*, p. 337, MS. n'existant malheureusement qu'en un seul exemplaire qui, par surcroît, n'est pas antérieur au XVe siècle. M. J. Sauvaget qui nous donne ces précisions (nous lui sommes du reste redevables de nombreuses autres lumières sur l'Orient musulman) ajoute qu'il serait surprenant que ce texte tel qu'il nous est parvenu soit exempt d'erreurs (les passages cités sont en effet noyés dans une liste déconcertante).

[131] *Op. cit.*, II, 244.

[132] Le Kermès est une spécialité de l'Arménie et du Nord de l'Iran (souvent confondu avec le Cochenille polonaise, voir *Sem. Kondak.*, VII, 1935 et n. 81. Quant aux tissus et tapis, nous pensons qu'il s'agit surtout de tapis noués ou tissés à la main, à la façon des *Ḳilim* et des *Soumak;* il semble impossible que l'Arménie ait été en possession d'un métier à la tire aux époques qui nous intéressent.

duvet. C'est ainsi que Idrīsī [133] vante les manteaux de Bam (dans l'Est du Kerman) "qui égalent en finesse ce qui est possible de plus beau." Al-Iṣṭakhrī parle de la manufacture (ṭirāz) du gouvernement de Fasā [134]: on apporte au "sultan" des tissus en poil de chèvre (sha'r) pesant un mithḳāl ce qui est le poids d'un dinar en or (4 gr.25). Bien qu'on n'indique pas la surface du tissu, il est clair qu'il s'agit d'une étoffe très légère, fine, impossible en sha'r. Il serait facile d'allonger la liste de ces négligences manifestes.

Nous avons gardé pour la fin un auteur du XVIII[e] siècle qui a écrit (en persan) l'histoire de Shustar; [135] il parle de brocart (dībādj) fait de duvet de chèvre (kork), "brocart bien plus fin que la pure étoffe de soie." Autrefois, les vêtements et les coiffures des rois étaient tous de ce brocart. Ce brocart de Shustar avait passé en proverbe chez les poètes du temps.

On remarquera qu'aucun de ces textes ne parle des régions où ce duvet se récolte; il y a bien Ibn al-Balkhī,[136] qui dit qu'à Yezd (dans le Fārs, du côté du Kerman), on fait de très beaux brocarts, "car on élève là rien que des chèvres et pas de moutons."

Les voyageurs d'Occident ont été plus explicites sur ce point, mais aucun d'eux ne semble avoir vu la bête qui fournit ce duvet.

Tavernier dit [137]: "Il existe en Kerman une sorte de laine fort rare et fort belle . . . la meilleure se prend dans les montagnes voisines de la ville qui porte le même nom que la province." Mais Tavernier ajoute que ce sont des moutons qui la fournissent, "au printemps la toison entière s'enlève, comme d'elle-même et laisse la bête aussi nue qu'un cochon de lait qu'on a pelé dans l'eau chaude."

Chardin [138] parle (en 1666) d'étoffes de poil de chameau qui se font particulièrement à Yezd et à Kerman: "On appelle cette laine de chameau teftik [139] et aussi kurk, elle est bien fine et presque comme du castor, molle et douce à la main, mais on ne saurait rien faire de ferme ni qui ait du corps."

Le R. P. Raphael du Mans [140] dit: L'on avait commencé à tirer des laines fines grises, appelées ici teftik, du pays kurde,[141] de Kerman et de Yezd (voir aussi: p. 349 ou il est question de 'poil de chèvre' utilisé en Hollande et en Flandre pour faire de beaux camelots).[142]

Pottinger [143] qui a visité le Kerman en 1810 écrit: "Les châles sont faits de la laine connue par l'ancien nom de la province, Karamania; . . . les moutons qui fournissent la matière première sont très petits et à jambes courtes. On a cru à tort qu'on ramassait la laine qui tombait . . ." Il ajoute ce qui doit être exact: "ils ont, par ordre de Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh, roi actuel, été transportés dans différentes parties du Royaume; les animaux semblaient y prospérer, mais la laine

[133] *Géographie,* trad. P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), I, 423.

[134] *Viae regnorum,* éd. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1870), p. 152.

[135] Saiyid 'Abd Allāh al-Shūstarī, *Tādhkīra-i-Shūstarīya* (*Bibl. Indica*), *Asiatic Soc. Bengal,* n.s., No. 1303 (1914), description historique de Shustar jusqu'à l'année 1169 H. (1755 A.D.); nous devons la traduction de ce passage à M. Massé, membre de l'Institut.

[136] "Description de la province du Fārs, au début du XII[e] siècle, trad. du MS. du British Museum par G. Le Strange," *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.,* 1912, p. 20.

[137] *Op. cit.,* p. 105.

[138] *Voyage du Chevalier Chardin en Perse* (Paris, 1830), VIII, 8, 9.

[139] Expression turque qui, selon Redhouse désigne le duvet des chèvres du Tibet. Teftik, tiftik, vient certainement de tibit (communication de M. J. Deny) qui, au Ferghana signifie encore le duvet du Tibet (voir ci-après).

[140] P. Raphaël du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660,* éd. C. Schefer (Paris, 1890), p. 187. L'auteur était Supérieur de la mission des Capucins à Isfahan.

[141] Le "pays kurde" en question est peut-être le Kurdistan (voir *op. cit.,* p. 2) au Nord du Khūzistān.

[142] Voir aussi *ibid.,* p. 349.

[143] H. Pottinger, *Voyages dans le Béloutchistan et le Sindhy,* trad. J. B. B. Eyriès (Paris, 1818), I, 421.

perdait de sa qualité." [144] Pottinger ajoute que le même phénomène s'est produit au Cachemire.

En ce qui concerne ce dernier pays, nous avons quelques renseignements à partir de la fin du XVI[e] siècle.

Abu 'l-Fazl dans son grand ouvrage des *Instituts d'Akbar* (1570) parle des "châles qu'on transporte dans toutes les parties du monde" mais sans donner de détails.[145]

François Bernier, médecin d'Aurengzeb qui en 1663 a passé trois mois au Cachemire, parle surtout des caravanes qui traversent tous les ans les montagnes du Grand Tibet pour aller à Cathai; en revenant, elles se chargent des laines très fines.

Des voyageurs persans aussi se sont intéressés aux chèvres du Tibet. Nous devons à l'obligeance de MM. Minovi et Serjeant des renseignements sur le ms. or. 2009 du British Museum, traduit par P. D. Henderson; [146] nous lisons: "The wool, from which shawls are made, is the short soft substance on the bodies of goats growing below the hair." [147] M. Minovi a traduit, sur le ms. lui-même, le passage suivant: "Tibit which in Persian they call kurk, and in Turkey tibit, meaning shawl-wool (pashm-i-shāl), they have in this province (Marghīnān, Ferghana), but the like of Kashmir is not found" (yāfta, but it might be read bāfta-woven or tāfta-spun). Nous avons déjà cité le dictionnaire de Watt.[148] Nous mentionnons de cette excellente monographie seulement que la laine des chèvres en question est appelée pashm (pešm, nom persan de la laine de mouton) et qu'on a voulu vendre sous ce nom aussi la robe d'hiver du Yak, du chameau et de différentes antilopes, mais que ces matières doivent être considérées comme "most inferior substitutes." Il est ajouté, qu'on importe aux Indes des quantités importantes d'une laine douce qui vient de Perse et qu'on appelle Kirmānī pashm.[149]

Ce dernier renseignement est complété par une remarque de Yule-Cordier [150] expliquant dans une note [151] que la Mongolie du nord du Gobi produit beaucoup de chameaux blancs, notamment à Kiakhta et que les Chinois envoyaient cette laine au Cachemire. C'est peut-être à ces importations que fait allusion W. R. Clark (ci-dessus) avec un certain mépris.

Ces manipulations ont affecté sans doute le Cachemire plus que la Perse, dont la production n'avait pas à faire face à des exportations lointaines. Dans tous les cas, les dictionnaires *Burhān-ī-Kāṭi'* et de Vullers que nous avons cités plus haut, définissent nettement la signification du mot kurk.[152]

Il semble que la chèvre du Tibet (probablement *Capra falconeri*, groupe Markhor), qui a fourni les races du Cachemire et des pays voisins,

[144] Ce récit semble confirmer un renseignement donné à M. Massé par le Dr. Muhammed Khan, répétiteur à l'École des Langues Orientales: "le duvet de chèvre (kork) est recueilli dans plusieurs provinces de l'Iran, notamment entre Téhéran et Isfahan et on en fait de beaux tissus." Il s'agit peut-être de chèvres originaires du Kerman, dont la laine n'a plus la même valeur que dans le pays d'origine mais qui, cependant, est utilisable.

[145] *The Ain i Akbari, Abdul Fazl 'Allami,* trad. H. Blochmann and H. S. Jarrett (Calcutta, 1868–94), p. 126.

[146] Voir C. Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1879–83), III, 982; Masīr 'Izzat Allāh, trad. P. D. Henderson sous le titre *Travels in Central Asia by Meer Izzat-oollah in the Years 1812/13* (Calcutta, 1872).

[147] *Ibid.,* p. 12.

[148] G. Watt, *A Dictionary of the Economic Products in India* (London-Calcutta, 1893), VI, Pt. II, 559–672: Sheep and Goats (W. R. Clark).

[149] *Ibid.,* p. 636.

[150] H. Yule et H. Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* (London, 1921), chap. LVIII, 281 et chap. LIX, 284, aussi M. G. Pauthier, *Le Livre de Marco Polo* (Paris, 1865), I, chap. LXXII, 206 et chap. LXXIII, 213.

[151] Yule-Cordier, *op. cit.,* p. 283, note.

[152] Malgré cette unanimité des auteurs et des dictionnaires, la grande majorité des traducteurs ne connaît pas *lana mollis caprina;* on se contente de mettre goats hair ou poil de chèvre, ce qui est, nous l'avons vu, tout autre chose.

ne soit pas identique avec la chèvre sauvage de la Perse. Celle-ci [153] serait *Capra aegagrus* Pall, qui, difficile à approcher, s'accomode de climats très divers; on l'a trouvée à 300 m. au-dessus de la mer, près du Golfe Persique, mais aussi 10° plus au Nord, dans l'Elbourz, à des altitudes considérables.

Bouquetins et béliers ont inspiré les bronziers et les tisserands iraniens. Au Louristan, dont les montagnes bordent la plaine du Khūzistān au Nord on a souvent réussi à séparer les deux types. La chèvre sauvage est ainsi caractérisée: cou et tête allongés, barbiche, cornes fines, quelquefois avec nodosités.[154] Ce sont nos Figures 69 et 74 qui correspondent à cet animal; quelquefois, le museau est épaissi, voir Figure 73, mais aussi Figure 70 qui, selon les autres caractères, représente plutôt un mouflon. Celui-ci (*Ovis orientalis*) se reconnaît bien dans Figures 71 et 72: cornes épaisses, tête courte, nez arrondi. A noter la pose de repos, les quatre pattes ramenées sous le corps (*Figs. 70, 71?, 74*).

A l'époque sassanide, les ovinés sont rarement représentés sur les tissus.[155] Un beau bouquetin (ibex), en gobelin de laine, figure dans le grand fragment de la collection Mrs. William H. Moore, la barbiche est au moins partiellement conservée (*Fig. 75*).[156]

APPENDICE II—LE DUVET DANS LES SOIES D'ANTINOÉ

Nous avons mentionné n. 80 (*Fig. 56*) une soie (MG 1.154=Lyon 359), à dessin géométrique, "purement grec" selon Falke. Cette soie provient des fouilles de 1897, elle renferme du duvet de chèvre.

Serge de trame: le dessin se détache en contours rouge-brun foncé du fond rouge vineux clair. La chaîne (rouge clair) est en soie fine (diamètre 9 μ, torsion Z); la trame rouge clair est de soie, même finesse et torsion; la trame rouge foncé au contraire est en laine; diamètre de 9 à 21μ, moyenne 15 μ. Cette laine à torsion Z a beaucoup souffert, on peut cependant trouver des écailles caractéristiques et M. Roehrich confirme notre impression qu'il s'agit de duvet de chèvre. Un grand fragment de cette soie a été trouvé avec le tissu a, pelucheux, vert-bleu. Les fibres sont très fragiles et il est impossible de les séparer pour établir la nature des colorants.

L'utilisation du duvet avec la soie n'est certainement pas due à une fantaisie. Chardin a mentionné cette combinaison pour la Perse même [157] les auteurs arabes aussi la citent plusieurs fois, notamment pour Fasā. C'est peut-être la difficulté de teindre la soie qui est à l'origine de cette alliance imprévue. La soie est à ce point de vue beaucoup plus délicate que la laine, notamment aussi parce que, pour pouvoir teindre convenablement, il faut d'abord la décreuser, c'est-à-dire il faut enlever l'enveloppe de gomme qui entoure les filaments. Aujourd'hui cette opération se fait dans un bain chaud de savon; les Chinois de l'époque des Han [158] ont trempé la soie écrue dans l'eau chaude, mais non

[153] Voir *Eastern Persia, An Account of the Journeys of the Persian Boundary Commission, 1870–71–72* (Londres, 1876), II, 89, 90.

[154] Voir aussi le *Survey of Persian Art* et A. Godard, *Les Bronzes du Luristan* (Paris-Bruxelles, 1931), Pl. LIV, LV; nous n'avons voulu montrer ici que quelques documents inédits.

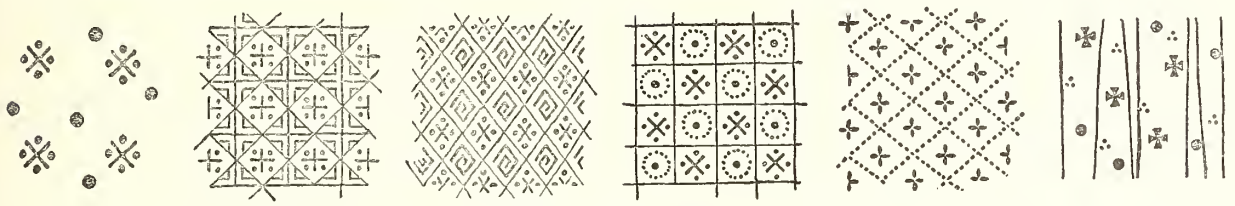
[155] Voir N. Toll, "Notes sur l'iconographie des tissus sassanides II–III," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, V (1932), 299 s.; fragments de soie de Lyon: les cornes, fortement enroulées (beaucoup plus que sur les bronzes du Louristan) sont présentées de face surmontant une tête de profil. On remarque le même parti pris dans une série assez fruste et tardive, dont le seul exemplaire un peu complet se trouve à Boston (N. P. Britton, *A Study of Some Early Islamic Textiles in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston, 1938), p. 29, Figs. 1, 2, 3, voir notre Figure 76; le type représenté dans toute cette série est peu caractéristique, se rapproche cependant plus du bélier que de l'ibex).

[156] P. Ackerman, "Textiles Through the Sāsānian Period," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London-New York, 1938), I, 708 et Fig. 249. Notre Figure 75 reproduit une grande photo du temps où cette pièce se trouvait à Paris.

[157] *Op. cit.*, IV, 152.

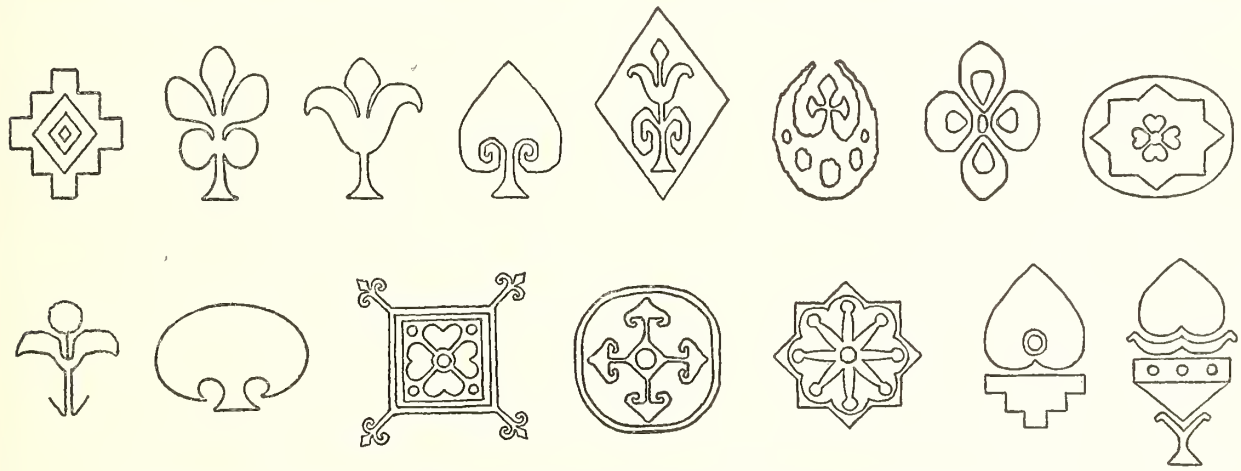
[158] D'après un aimable communication de M. Henri Maspero du 11. III, 39.

bouillante, additionnée de chaux ou d'une décoction de cendres de lien *Koelreuteria paniculata*.[159] Ici, comme pour la teinture, on trouve le souci des Chinois de ne pas exposer la soie à l'action de l'eau bouillante.



Figs. 29–34—Motifs Géométriques de la Céramique Grecque, Tirés des Figs. 1, 2, 9, et 10 de Falke (Première Edition)

Falke [160] avait estimé que les soies d'Antinoé à losanges et à semis copiaient presque sans modification les tissus de la Grèce classique, tels que nous les montre la céramique du V^e^ et du IV^e^ siècle avant J-Chr. "Deren Wiederauftauchen ist so zu erklären, dass das griechische Textilgewerbe die in der Wollweberei seit alters geübten Muster beim Zuströmen des neuen chinesischen Rohstoffs zunächst fortführte." Ce sont les Figures 32, 33, 34, de sa première édition (nos Figures 64, 68, et 65), que l'auteur invoque pour appuyer cette thèse. Or, les vases grecs montrent de menus dessins sans caractère, qui, certainement, ne reproduisent pas le dessin des robes. Déjà Stephani [161] avait compris que les céramistes n'avaient eu ni l'intention, ni la possibilité de copier la réalité. Falke lui-même avait du reste senti une autre difficulté, catégorique celle-là: comment ce décor grec du V^e^ et du IV^e^ siècles avant J-Chr. aurait-il pu surgir de nouveau, et en Égypte, au III^e^ siècle de notre ère? A ce moment, existait dans ce pays une décoration hellénistique que nous connaissons bien, elle n'a aucun rapport avec les semis des vases grecs. On ne voit pas du tout où le tissage des soies aurait pris les modèles corre-



Figs. 35–49—Motifs du Groupe des Soies d'Antinoé "Purement Grecques" de Falke

[159] K'ao-Kong Ki *apud* Tcheou-li K.40, 14a.

[160] Falke, *op. cit.*, 2e éd., p. 4.

[161] L. Stephani, "Erklärung einiger Kunstwerke der K. Ermitage und anderer Sammlungen," *Comptes-rendus de la commission impériale archéologique pour les années 1878–79* (St. Pétersbourg, 1881), pp. 44 et suivantes.

spondant à la céramique ancienne. Les tuniques hellénistiques sont décorées de bandes étroites unies qui descendent du cou jusqu'aux pieds, plus tard elles sont garnies de rinceaux trés simples, sans aucun lien avec la Grèce antique.

Nous avons réuni (*Figs. 29 à 34*) les principaux motifs des vases grecs invoqués par Falke, pour les opposer aux éléments soi-disant grecs des soies d'Antinoé (*Figs. 35* à *49*).[162] La plénitude du contour sassanide produit une impression d'opulence, alors que les dessins des Figures 29–34, qu'on trouve du reste ailleurs qu'en Grèce, bien avant le V^e^ siècle avant J-Chr., sont d'une grande banalité. Les motifs sassanides, fortement stylisés, sont presque toujours symétriques; l'arrangement même des sujets les plus simples, symétrique également, fait pressentir les riches soieries musulmanes et byzantines dans lesquelles prévaut cette ordonnance. L'inventaire de toutes les soies d'Antinoé aura donc un grand intérêt pour la détermination des origines du décor islamique.

Il conviendra du reste aussi de rechercher le duvet de chèvre dans toutes les soies sassanides et islamiques, sa présence dans ces dernières pourra être un précieux indice de la provenance iranienne.[163]

[162] Ces éléments sont pris dans les soies reproduites ici-même: savoir—

Fig. 35–38 tirées de Fig. 64 Berlin 96, 321 } invoquées
Fig. 39–41 tirées de Fig. 68 Falke, fig. 33 } invoquées
Fig. 42–44 tirées de Fig. 65 Berlin 98, 355 } par Falke
Fig. 45–47 tirées de Fig. 56 MG 1154
Fig. 48–49 tirées de Fig. 63 MG 1155

[163] Depuis le début de 1947 les collections provenant d'Antinoé qui se trouvaient au Musée Guimet ont été transférées au Musée du Louvre (Département d'Égypte). Le Musée du Louvre, à son tour, a cédé au M.G. les antiquités de Chine et d'Asie Centrale.

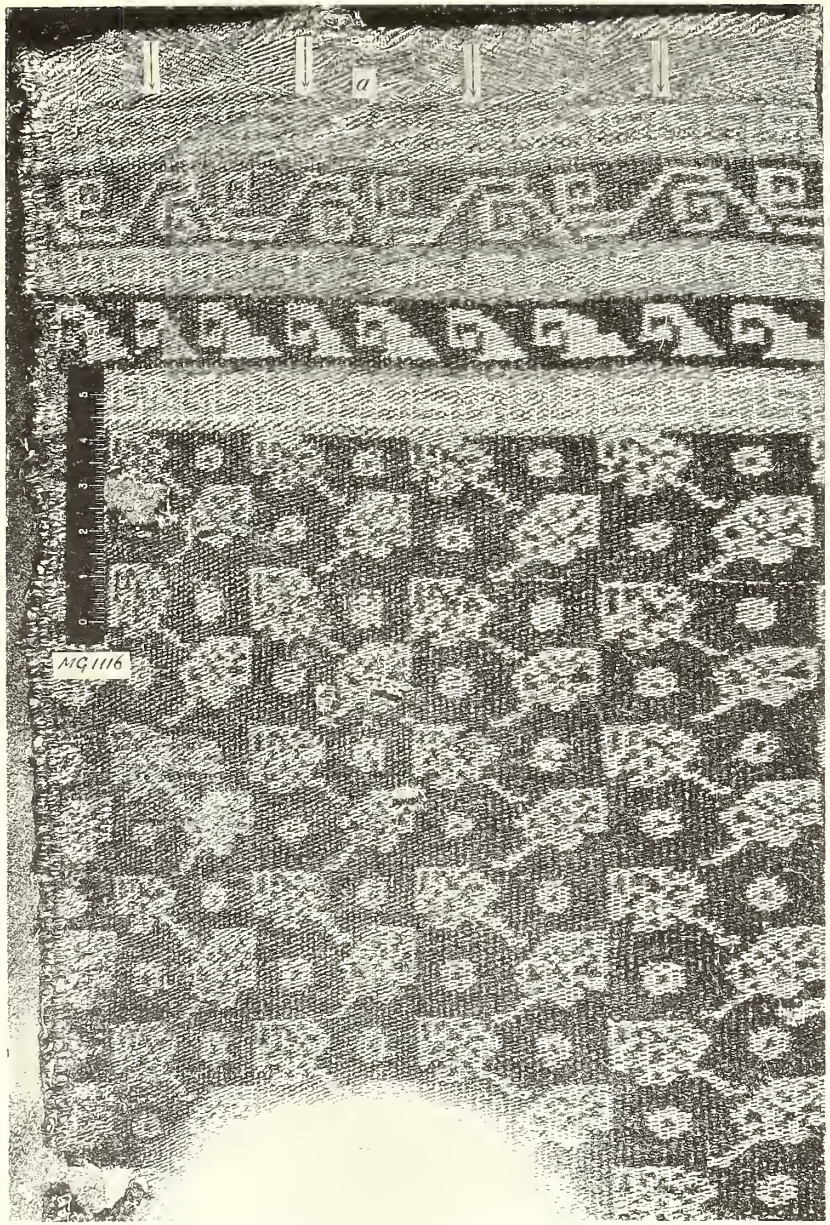


Fig. 50



Fig. 51

Figs. 50 et 51—Coussins tissés trouvés à Antinoé. Musée Guimet, i.116 et i.118

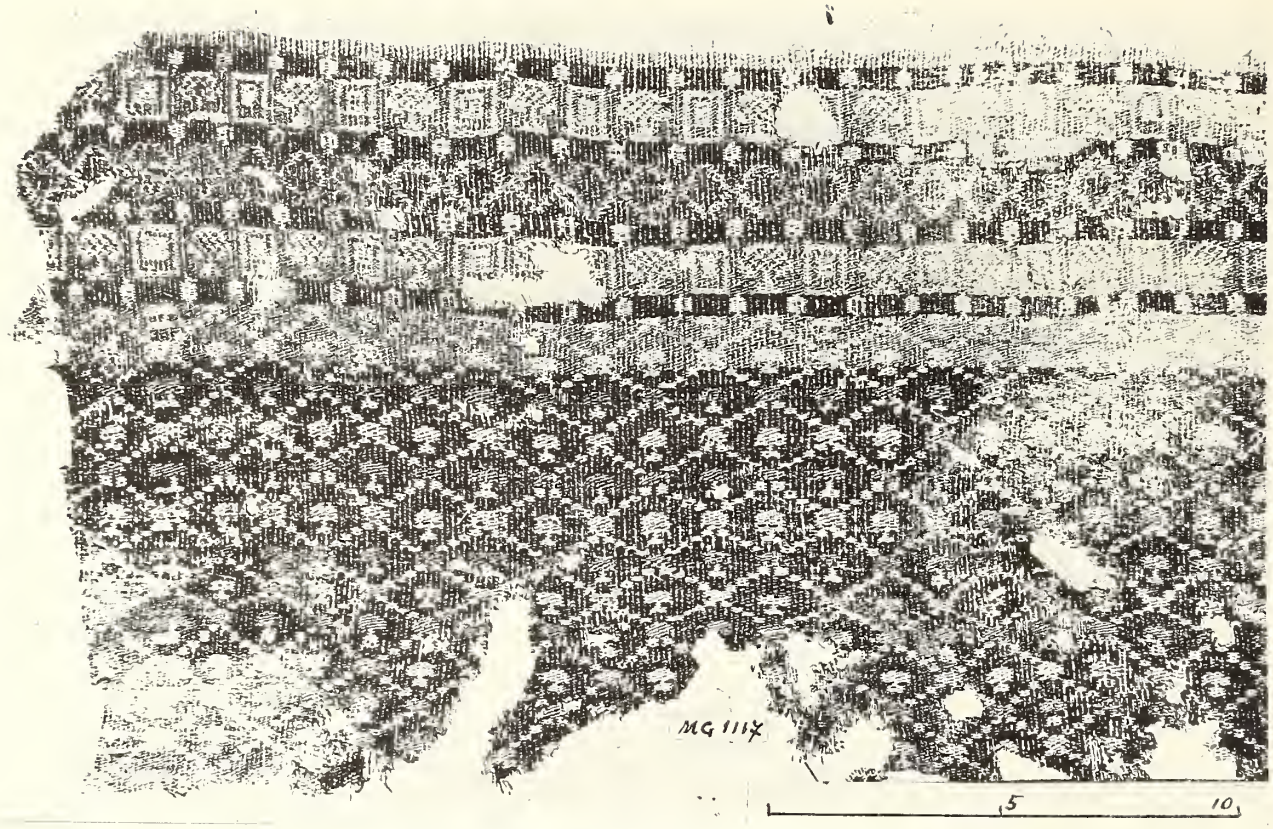


FIG. 52—COUSSIN TISSÉ. MUSÉE GUIMET, I.117

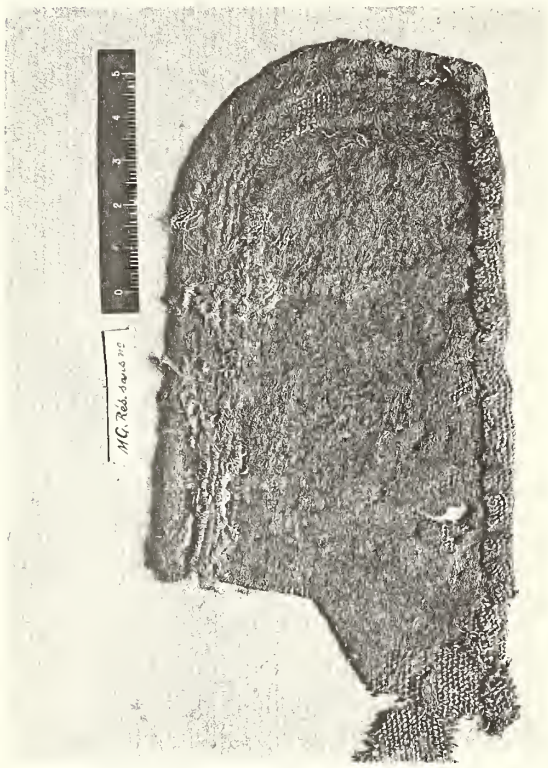


FIG. 53—PATTE DE PELUCHE. MUSÉE GUIMET RÉS. SANS N° (d).



FIG. 54—GALON. MUSÉE GUIMET, RÉS. C 581 (g)

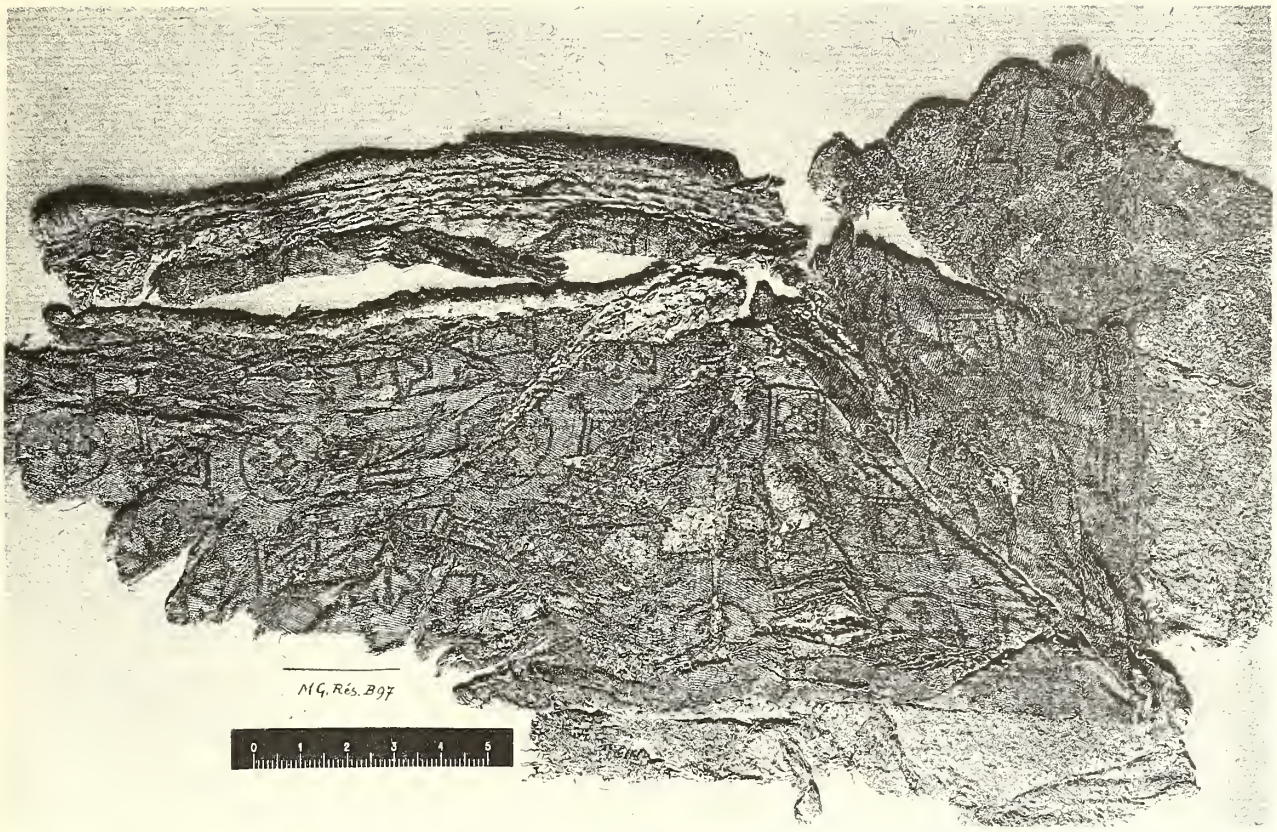


Fig. 55—Peluche avec soierie. Musée Guimet, Rés. B 97; (a)

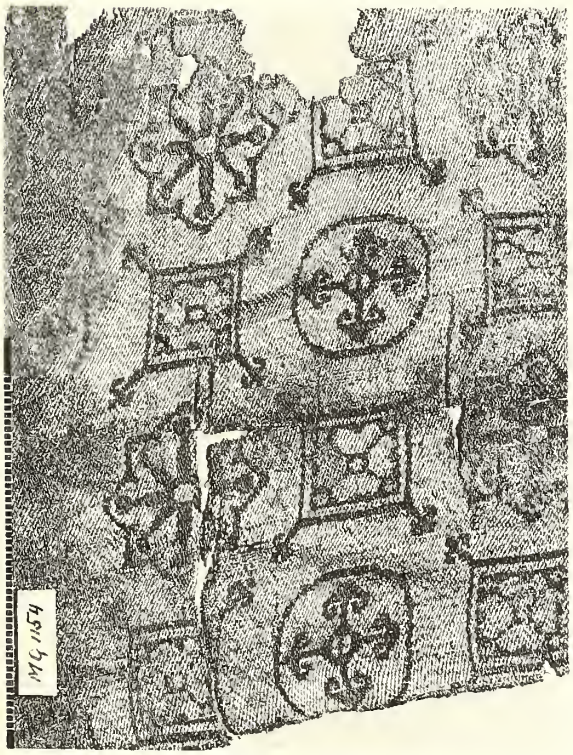


Fig. 56—Soie. Musée Guimet, 1.154

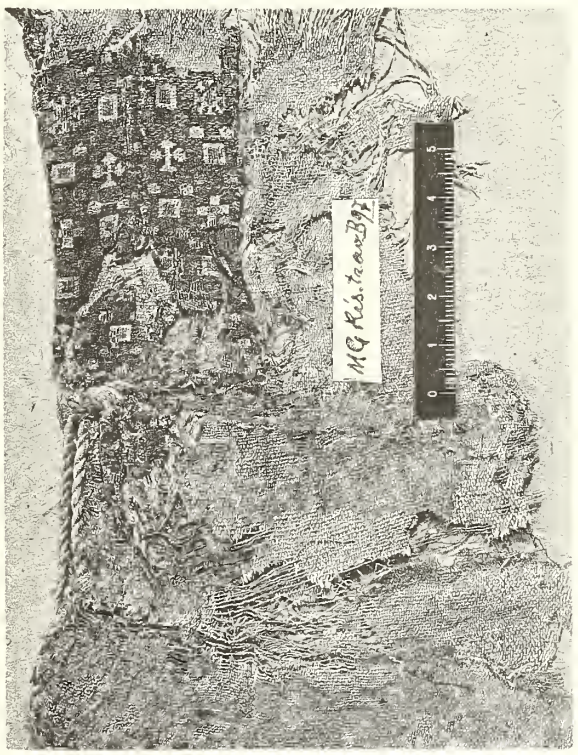


Fig. 57—Soierie. Musée Guimet, Rés. (o) trouvé avec B 97

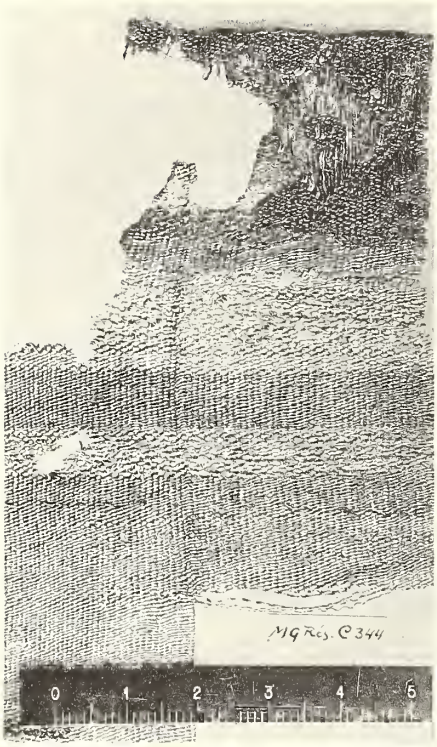


FIG. 58—FRAGMENT DE COSTUME FÉMININ AVEC GALON (ENVERS). MUSÉE GUIMET, RÉS. C 344; (m)

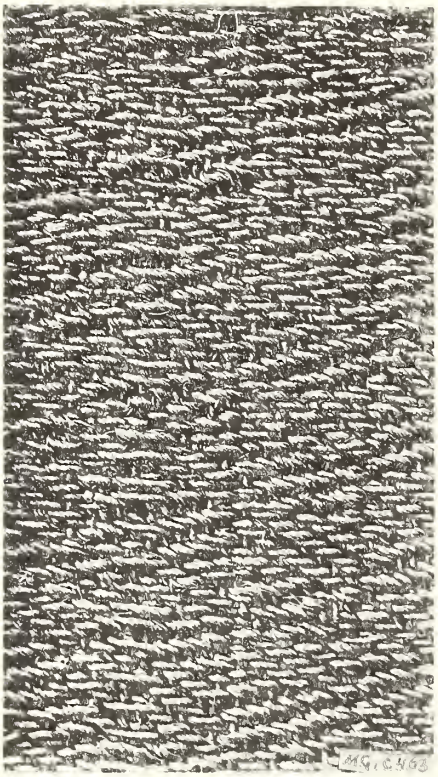


FIG. 59—SERGE LOSANGÉE AGR. 6.8 FOIS (PROB. SYRIE). MUSÉE GUIMET, RÉS. C 463

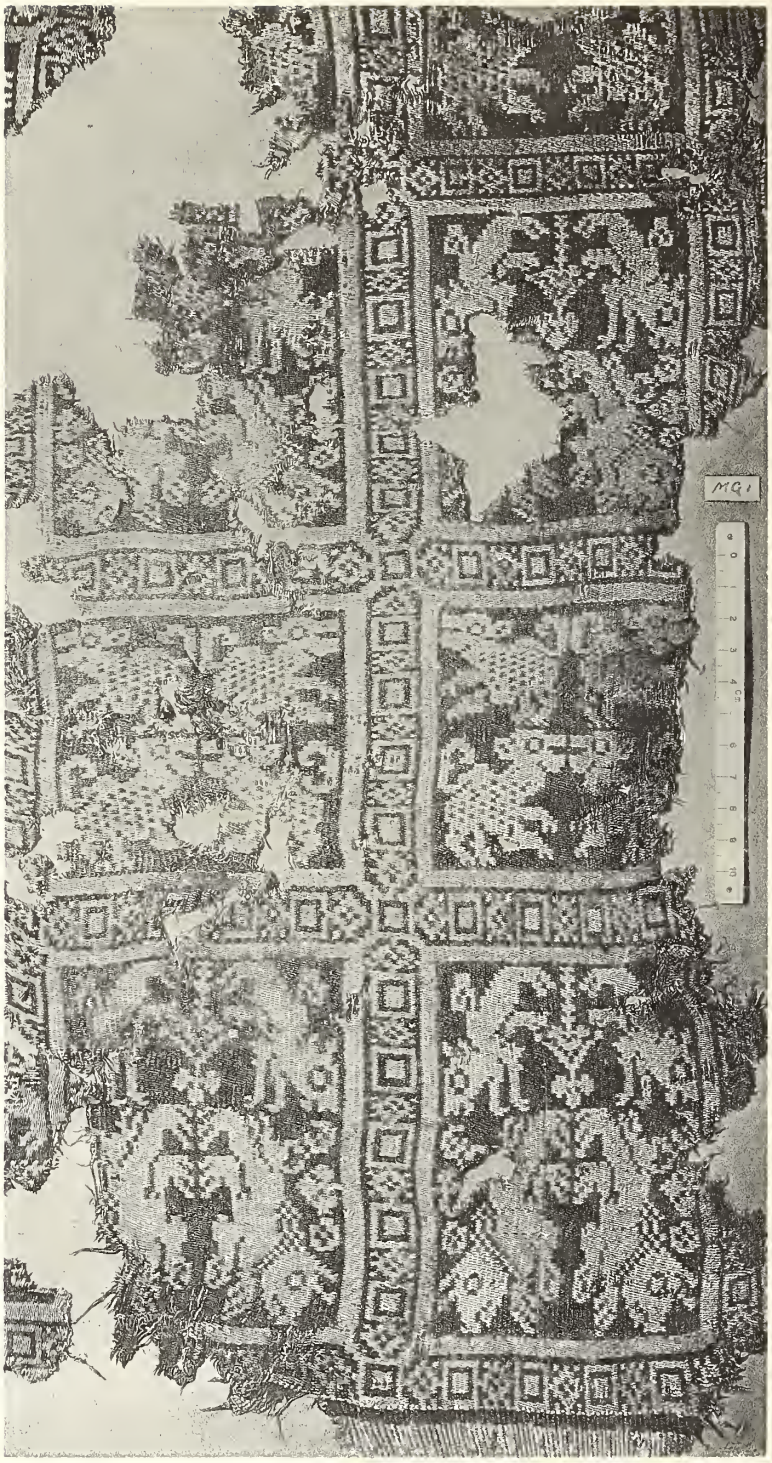


FIG. 60—COUSSIN TARDIF TISSÉ EN ÉGYPTE. MUSÉE GUIMET, I

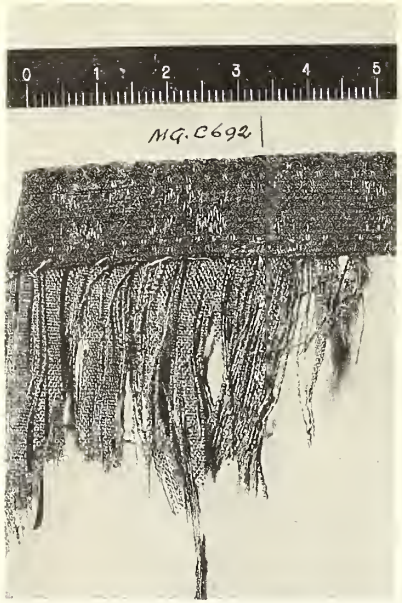


FIG. 61—TISSU DE LAINE À CHAINE DE SOIE. MUSÉE GUIMET, RÉS. C 692, GALON

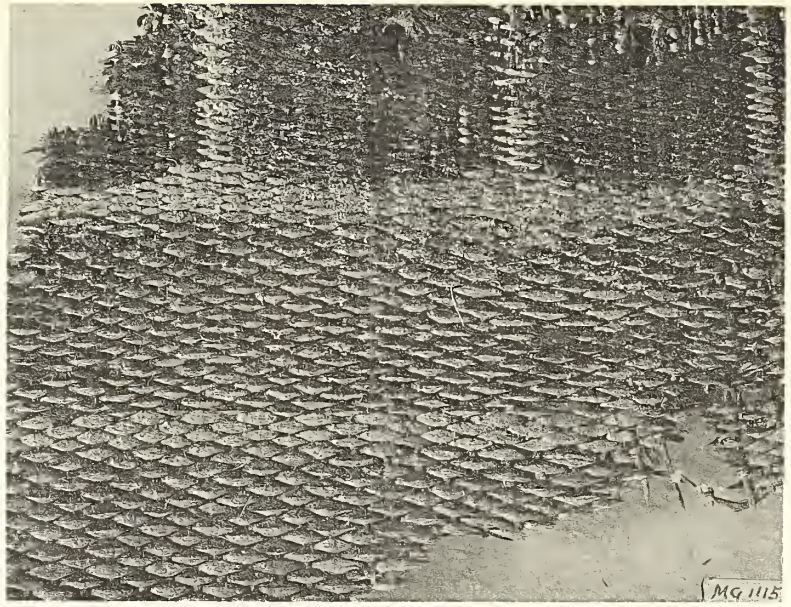
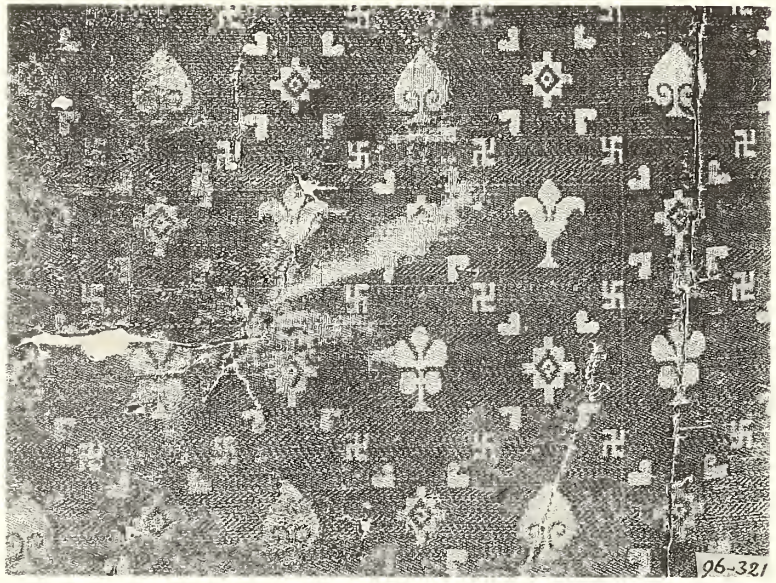


FIG. 62—SOIE BLEU ET BLANC, PRODUISANT 3 TONS, AGR. 6 FOIS MUSÉE GUIMET, 1115

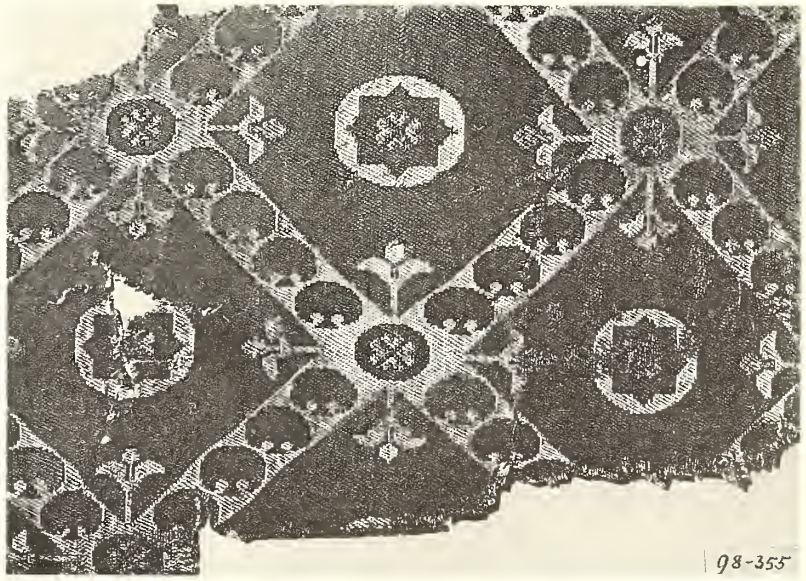


FIG. 63—SOIE. MUSÉE GUIMET, 1155



CLICHÉ SCHLOSSMUSEUM

FIG. 64—SOIE. BERLIN, 96–321 (Falke, Fig. 32)



CLICHÉ SCHLOSSMUSEUM

FIG. 65—SOIE. BERLIN, 98–355 (Falke, Fig. 34)

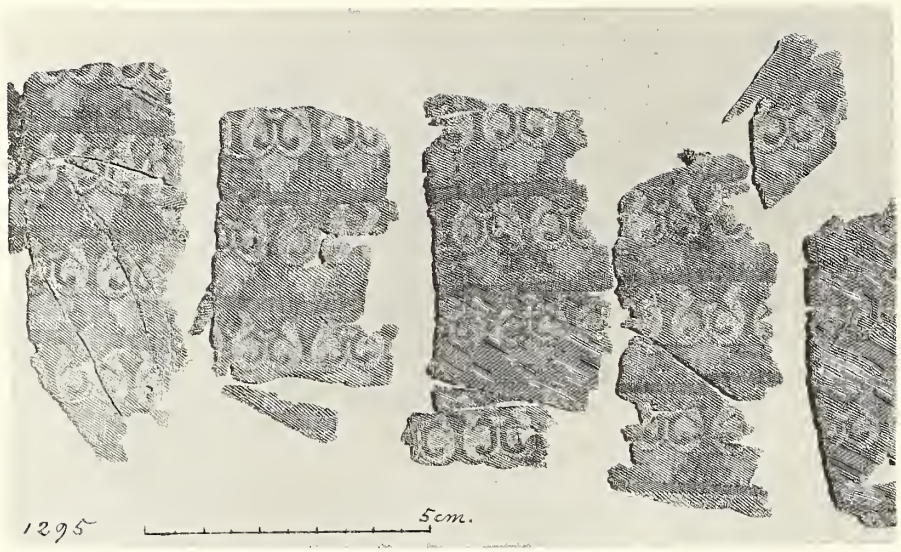


Fig. 66—Soie. Musée Guimet, 1.295

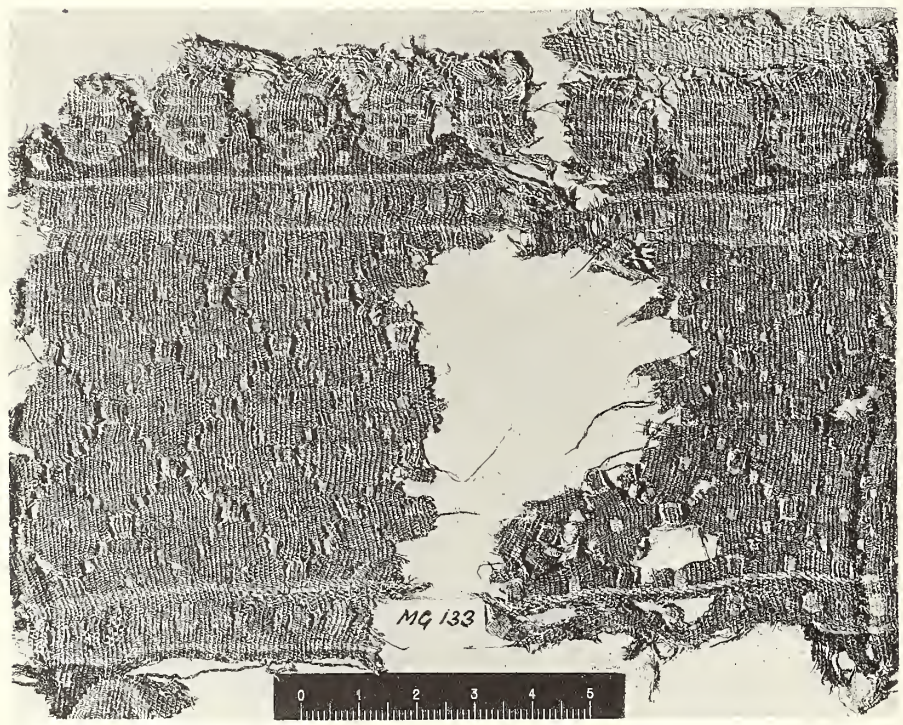


Fig. 67 —Gobelin laine (prob. sassanide). Musée Guimet, 133

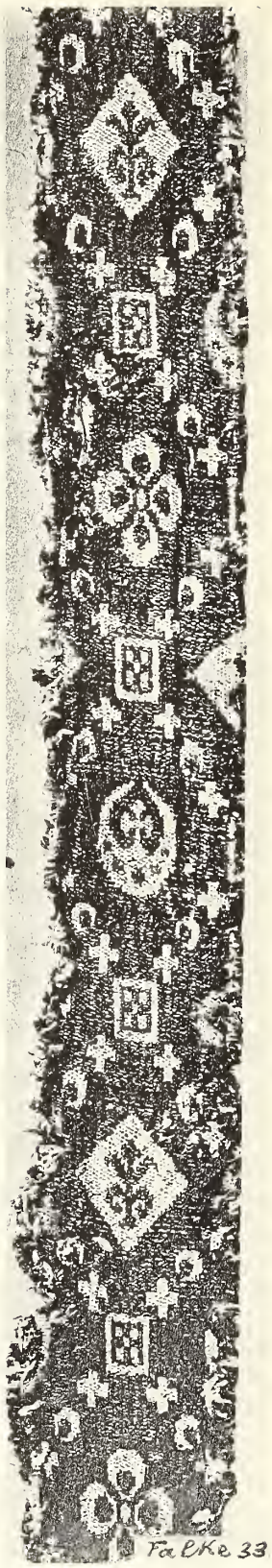


Fig. 68—Soie. Berlin (selon Falke, 1913 Fig. 33)



Fig. 69 Fig. 70 Fig. 71



Fig. 72 Fig. 73 Fig. 74

Figs. 69-74—Bronzes du Louristan, Bouquetins et Béliers, Collection R. Pfister

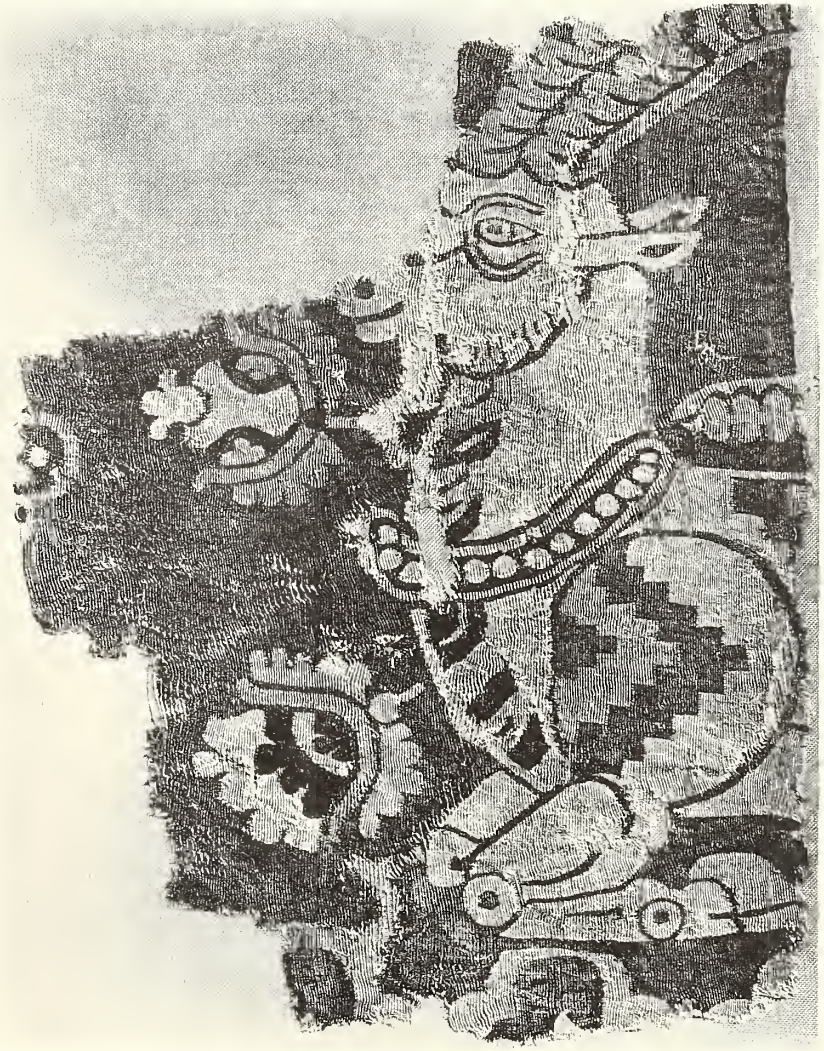


Fig. 75—Bouquetin. Collection Moore

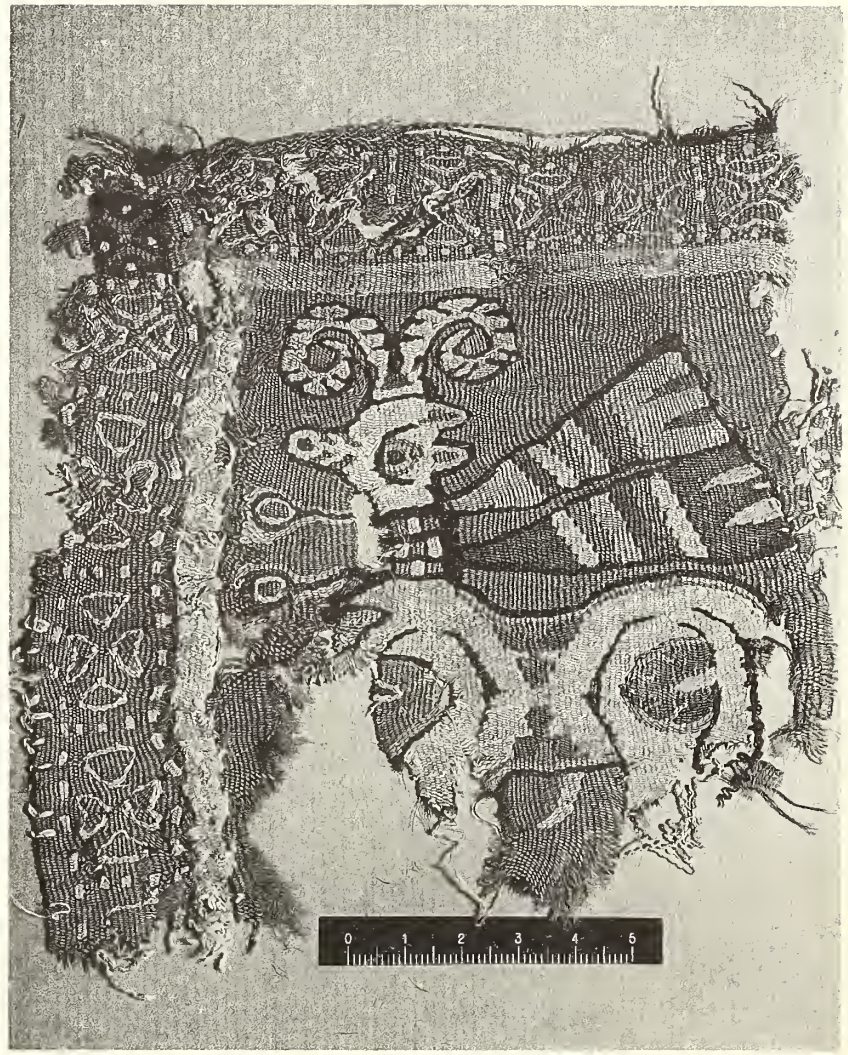


Fig. 76—Bélier. Collection R. Pfister

Figs. 75 et 76—Gobelins sassanides

MATERIAL FOR A HISTORY OF ISLAMIC TEXTILES UP TO THE MONGOL CONQUEST

BY R. B. SERJEANT

CHAPTER XV*
TEXTILES IN THE YEMEN

THE FLOURISHING AND HIGHLY DEVELOPED PRE-Islamic civilization of southwest Arabia was much concerned in the trade carried along that greatest highway of the world, the Red Sea (Map 1). The author of *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,*[1] writing about 70 A.D., gives a list of merchandise imported to Muza (modern Mawza'), a few hours to the north of Mocha,[2] which is of considerable interest and may be compared with later lists of a similar nature. It included "purple cloths both fine and coarse; clothing in the Arabian style with sleeves; plain, ordinary, embroidered or interwoven with gold; saffron, sweet rush, muslins, cloaks, blankets (not many), some plain and others made in the local fashion, sashes of different colors." [3] To the present day blankets are still woven in the Yemen, each district producing its characteristic type; many are similar in pattern to the decoration of the carved alabaster ornamentation of the pre-Islamic era. Such blankets are used as mats or saddlebags for camels; perhaps they resembled those sent to Chosroes (see *infra*).[4]

A list of exports to the African coast of the Red Sea is also given; it can be assumed that these also went to the Arabian coast, especially the iron which, we know from Arab authors, went to Arabia:

> Likewise from the district of Ariaca (the northwest coast of India, especially round the Gulf of Cambay) there are imported Indian iron and steel, and Indian cotton cloth; the broadcloth called monachê [5] and that

* See also preceding chapters in *Ars Islamica,* Vols. IX–XII (1942–46).

[1] *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,* trans. by W. H. Schoff (New York, 1912), p. 30.

[2] For a discussion of the whereabouts of this locality, see C. v. Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale* (Leyden, 1905–13), II, II, 1140. He quoted the name from Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Boldān. Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. H. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), IV, 680.

[3] Probably the characteristic South Arabian fūṭa (see *infra*) or perhaps the brightly colored waist sashes of the same material used by the people to this day.

[4] From the 'Awdhalī country I brought to England a striped blanket carpet (shamla), corresponding exactly in pattern to the carved stone friezes illustrated in C. Rathjens and H. v. Wissmann, *Vorislamische Altertümer, Südarabien-Reise* (Hamburg, 1932), II, 52. For an illustration of the shamla, see E. Brauer, *Ethnologie der jemenitischen Juden* (Heidelberg, 1934), Taf. viii, 3, g. These are often though not invariably woven by Jewish weavers. In the well-known "Himyaritic" inscription, Glaser 1,000 A (trans. in N. Rhodokanakis, *Altsabäische Texte* [Wien and Leipzig, 1927], I, 25) the spinners of Īth are mentioned after the 'Ūd, the present 'Awdhilla tribe, and they probably inhabited country not far from the 'Ūd. It is important that the word used in the inscription 𐩧𐩣𐩱 corresponds to the Arabic ḥulla, a characteristic word used to describe the Yemen product. 𐩧𐩣𐩱 is translated as *"tentoria, vici."*

[5] Schoff (*Periplus,* p. 72), suggested that monachê may be a corruption of some Indian trade name. The word seems to have the same radicals as the word nakhkh (pl. ankhākh), a form of which, munakhkhakh, I propose to read for munaḥḥaḥ in the passage from al-Bīrūnī's *Kitāb al-Djamāhir* (quoted in Chapter X). It does not seem to be an Arabic word, and may well be derived from India. It is used in a Chinese source (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources* [London, 1910], II, 124) and in *The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* trans. by H. Yule (London, 1878), I, 65. Vullers, quoted by R.P.A. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed.; Paris, 1927), II, 648, described nakhkh as a *"tapetum vel stratum elegans et pictum,"* but it can also be *étoffe de soie brochée d'or brocart.* It is not improbable that monachê is connected with the Arabic word nakhkh.

called sagmatogênê, and girdles, and coats of skin and mallow-colored cloth (molochinê) and a few muslins and colored lac.[6]

Yemen stuffs are frequently mentioned by the early Arab poets an examination of whose works might elicit some slight particulars as to their style and form, and to the early Muslims the country was known as a wealthy province which produced textiles. There are traditional accounts of exports of cloth from the Yemen to the rest of Arabia. According to Azraḳī,[7] the Kaaba was covered by the Tubba' kings of the Yemen, long before Islam, with "waṣīla"[8] cloth of striped stuff (ḥibra) of the 'Aṣb of the Yemen, while the prophet is said by no less an authority than Wāḳidī[9] to have covered the Kaaba with Yemen cloth (thiyāb Yamanīya). The prophet's ancestor, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, was enshrouded in two cloaks (ḥulla) of the Yemen, worth a thousand mithḳāls in gold; though this report is probably untrue, it shows the estimation in which the stuffs were held.[10]

During the reign of Khusrau Anūshirwān (531–79 A.D.), a Persian expedition conquered the country which then became a vassal state under a line of Persian governors. According to Tha'ālibī,[11] the special products of the province were brought to Anūshirwān by way of presents from his general Wahriz. The *Aghānī*[12] records that Bādhān, the Persian governor of the Yemen, "sent to Kisrā (Chosroes) a caravan carrying cloth (thiyāb) of the Yemen kind, musk, ambergris, and two saddlebags (khurdj) in which there were ornamented girdles (mintaḳ)." This caravan never reached its destination, being plundered en route, but it does seem to show that Yemen cloth came to Persia either

[6] *Periplus,* p. 24. For Indian swords, see F. W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber aus ihren Dichtern* (Leipzig, 1886), but there are iron workings dating from the pre-Islamic age in southwestern Arabia, from which the metal of the famous Yemen swords was, no doubt, derived.

[7] Azraḳī, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1857–61), I, 173–74.

[8] Plural وصائل , see 'Azīmuddīn Ahmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's im Šamsval 'Ulūm* (Leyden-London, 1916), Gibb Memorial Ser. (=G.M.S.) XXIV, 114, where it is said to be cloth brought from the Yemen. Muhammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tādj al-'Arūs* (Cairo, 1307 H. [1888–89 A.D.]), VIII, 156 describes waṣīla as "striped red Yemen cloth" (thawb aḥmar mukhaṭṭaṭ Yamān-in), or as "red burūd upon which are green stripes (khuṭūṭ)." E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1863–93), I, 499, quoting early sources, described ḥibra as "a garment of the kind called burd . . . or a sort of burd of the fabric of El-Yemen . . . striped, munammar (or this word . . . may perhaps signify spotted) . . . a kind of garment of the fabric of El-Yemen, of cotton or linen, striped (mukhaṭṭaṭ)." For 'aṣb, *ibid.,* I, 2058: "A particular sort of the garment called burūd of the fabric of El-Yemen; a burd of which the yarn is dyed and then woven; or of which the yarn is put together and bound, then dyed, and then woven; . . . or garments of the kind called burūd of the fabric of El-Yemen, the yarn of which is put together and bound, and then dyed, and woven so that they become party-colored, because what has been bound thereof remains white, the dye not having taken it; and such garments a woman in the period termed 'idda is allowed to wear, but not garments that are (wholly) dyed; or striped garments of the kind called burūd; and what is forbidden in that case is a garment that has been dyed after it has been woven; or what are forbidden are the 'aṣb of El-Yemen which are said to have been dyed with urine." This is evidently a reference to the celebrated ikat cloth of the Yemen.

Burd, the textile always associated with the Yemen (pl. burūd), is described (*ibid.,* I, I, 184) as "a kind of striped garment . . . particular kinds thereof are distinguished by such terms as burd 'aṣb, and burd washī." He noted that a burda may be "a striped garment of the kind called shamla." This is the striped woolen woven strips of carpet manufactured in South Arabia today.

[9] Quoted by Azraḳī, *op. cit.,* I, 176.

[10] Ya'ḳūbī, *Ibn al-Wādhih qui dicitur al-Ja'qūbī historiae,* ed. by M. T. Houtsma (Leyden, 1883), II, 13.

[11] Tha'ālibī, *Histoire des rois des perses,* ed. and trans. by H. Zotenberg (Paris, 1900), p. 618.

[12] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Bulaq, 1285 H. [1888–9]), XVI, 78.

as presents or as part of the tribute, after the Sasanian practice.

It may be as a result of this interchange with the Yemen that later Rayy manufactured cloths of the same kind as those of Aden, and Isfahan and Nishapur manufactured stuff called Sa'īdī, which was also made at San'a.[13] Kerman, according to Djahshiyārī's list,[14] which is fuller than that of Ibn Khaldūn,[15] sent with the tribute to the Abbasid caliphs, five hundred lengths of cloth (thawb of Yamanī and Khabīṣī stuff (matā'). I surmise that this Yamanī stuff was either made or imported into Kerman.[16] It is quite possible that the Persians may have transferred Yemenites to Persia to carry on the manufacture of stuffs. The last Persian governor of the country was converted to Islam in the year 628 A.D., and the province with its tribute passed into Muslim hands.

Al-Nu'mān of Ḥīra [17] (*ca.* 580–602 A.D.) used to send to the fair of 'Ukāẓ, when the season came round, "perfume which the lord of Muḍar allowed him. This was sold and the proceeds spent on skins, silk (ḥarīr) . . . and striped material (burūd) of 'aṣb-cloth, washī-silk, and striped cloth of Aden (musaiyar 'Adanī)." In later times the prophet condemned a musaiyar garment sold at the door of the mosque, this type of cloth being defined by al-Muṭarrizī [18] as "striped cloth (burūd) with an admixture of ḳazz silk, striped cloth with yellow stripes."

Many sources report the agreement made by the prophet with the inhabitants of Nadjrān that they should pay part of their tax in cloth. Ibn Sa'd [19] wrote that the embassy from Nadjrān came wearing "striped cloth (ḥibra) and cloaks bordered with silk (ardiya makfūfa bi 'l-ḥarīr)." By the agreement they were to pay 2,000 cloaks (ḥulla), or according to another source," a thousand Nadjrān cloaks, and thirty 'Ādite mail coats (dir')." [20]

[13] See Chapters VIII, footnote 15, and X, footnote 37.

[14] al-Djahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wa 'l-Kuttāb* (Cairo, 1938), pp. 281–88. Khabīṣ is a small town not far from Kerman.

[15] See Chapter I, footnote 8.

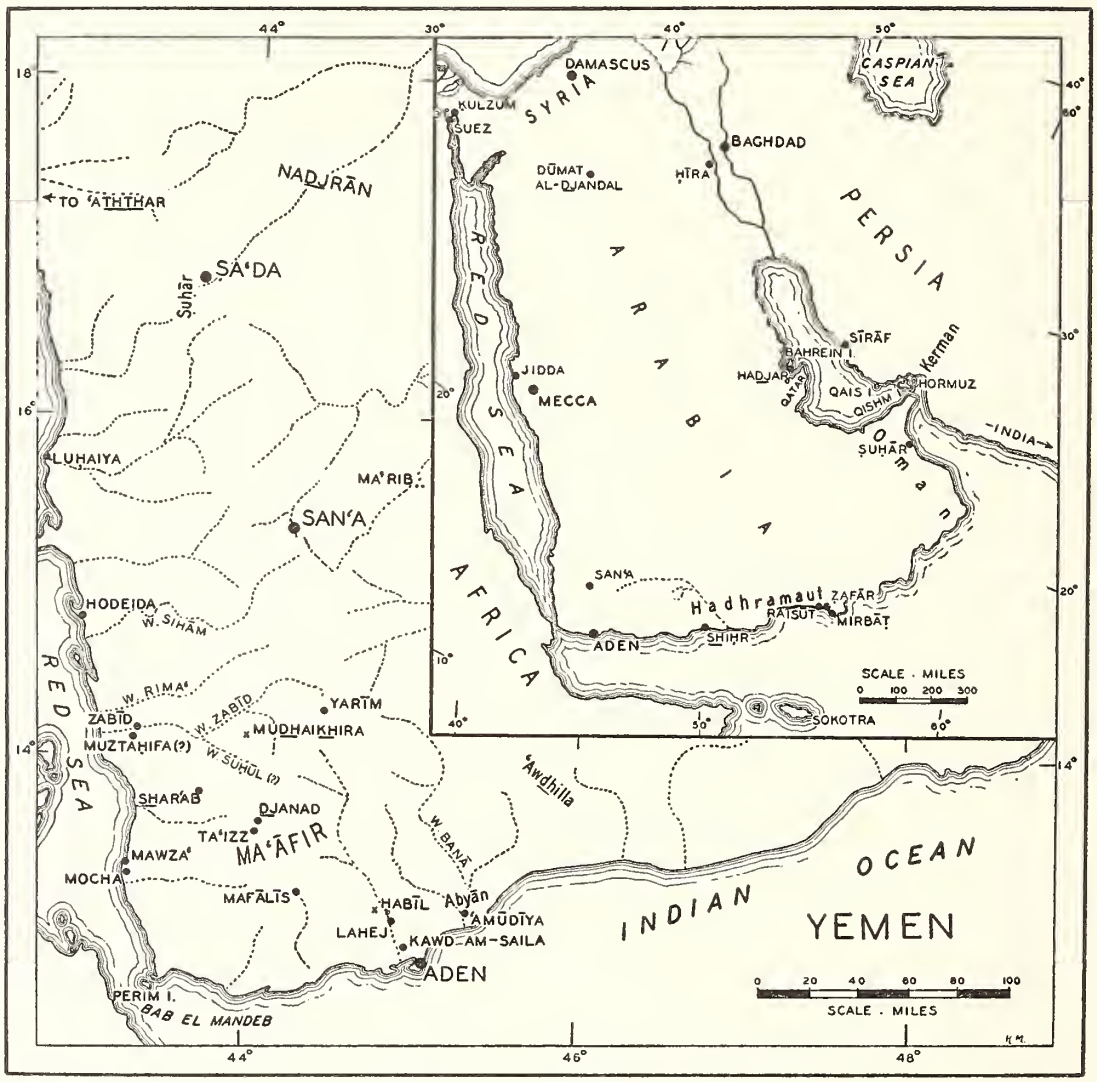
[16] The trade connections between Kerman and the South Arabian coastal cities must have been close. I have collected polychrome glass bracelets from the sites where they were manufactured, at Ḥabīl, Abyān, and Kawd Am-Saila, all within a day's journey of Aden, to discover later that Sir Aurel Stein had published a number of identical bracelets from the Makran coast in his *Archaeological Reconnaissances and South-Eastern Iran* (London, 1937). It is impossible to say whether the bracelets are post- or pre-Islamic as they are found in association with the remains of both periods; it seems probable that the manufacture originated in the pre-Islamic period and continued after the conquest without a break.

[17] *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, XIX, 75.

[18] Nāṣir ibn 'Abd al-Saiyid al-Muṭarrizī, *al-Mughrib fī Tartīb al-Mu'rib* (Hyderabad, 1328 A.H.), I, 272 (reference supplied by M. Minovi). Among other places there is a reference to this cloth in Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* under the form سِيَرَاء, and in *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed. and trans. by C. J. Lyall (Oxford, 1918), II, 178, verse 9. In the former it is equivalent to ḥulla ḥarīr, a cloak of silk.

[19] Muhammad ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt al-Kabīra*, ed. by E. Mittwoch (Leyden, 1905), I, 85, also, II, 36. There is little doubt that silk was known and probably also woven in the Yemen prior to the Muslim era. Al-Hamdānī (al-Hamdānī, *The Eighth Book of al-Iklīl*, trans. by N. A. Faris, under the title *The Antiquities of South Arabia* [Princeton, 1938], p. 75) mentioned "silk-lined garments and gold-embroidered robes" found in the Himyarite tombs. The apocryphal nature of the stories about these tombs should not blind one to the real evidence of their discovery. Hamdānī (*ibid.*, p. 45) said also of these Himyarite tombs: "Some of their (better) shrouds, which are made of fine linen have endured."

[20] Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-Ḳulūb* (Cairo, 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]), p. 484. In Chapter III, I mentioned "two hundred Nadjrānī cloaks" brought with the local tax to Baghdad in the time of the Caliph Ma'mūn. A. S. Tritton has drawn my attention to the passage in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, trans. by P. Hitti (New York, 1916), I, 68, from which it is evident that the reference is to the tribute paid by those Nadjrānīs exiled to Mesopotamia


DAMASCUS
SYRIA
KULZUM
SUEZ
BAGHDAD
DŪMAT AL-DJANDAL
ḤĪRA
CASPIAN SEA
PERSIA
ARABIA
RED SEA
AFRICA
SĪRĀF
BAHREIN I.
HADJAR
QATAR
QAIS
QISHM
HORMUZ
Kerman
ṢUḤĀR
Oman
INDIA
JIDDA
MECCA
SANʿA
Ḥadhramaut
ZAFĀR
RAISŪT
MIRBĀṬ
ADEN
SHIḤR
SOKOTRA
SCALE · MILES
0 100 200 300
TO ʿATHTHAR
NADJRĀN
SAʿDA
Suḥār
LUHAIYA
MAʾRIB
SANʿA
HODEIDA
W. SIḤĀM
W. RIMAʿ
W. ZABĪD
ZABĪD
MUZTAḤIFA(?)
W. SUḤŪL (?)
MUDHAIKHIRA
YARĪM
SHARʿAB
DJANAD
TAʿIZZ
MAWZAʿ
MOCHA
MAʿĀFIR
MAFĀLĪS
ḤABĪL
Abyān
AMŪDĪYA
LAHEJ
KAWD-AM-SAILA
ADEN
PERIM I.
BAB EL MANDEB
ʿAwdhilla
W. BANA
INDIAN OCEAN
YEMEN
0 20 40 60 80 100
SCALE · MILES
K.M.
44°
46°
48°
30°
40°
50°
60°
14°
16°
18°
20°
10°

Map 1. Yemen

In early Islamic times, during the lifetime of the prophet, a governor of Djanad (near Ta'izz) who had a mother, a foreigner, perhaps a Persian, from Yemen in Hadhramaut, or it is said Ḥimyar, used to get thread from there called ghazl Yamān(in), according to an obscure and corrupt text in the *Aghānī*.[21] The prophet's grandson Husain, when killed at Kerbela, was wearing trousers (sarāwīl) of Yemen stuff.[22] The poet Omar ibn Abī Rabī'a wore a variegated (or embroidered) Yemen cloak (ḥulla mawshīya Yamānīya),[23] and Farazdaḳ appears in a variegated Yemen cloak of cotton (ḥulla awfāf yamānīya muwashshā).[24] *The Aghānī* [25] records that Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik had a "pavilion (surādiḳ) set up for himself, made of striped stuff (ḥibra) which Yūsuf ibn Omar had made for him in the Yemen. In it was another tent (fusṭāṭ) containing four sleeping mats (firāsh) of red khazz silk, with pillows of the same material. He himself was wearing a shirt (durrā'a) and a turban ('imāma) of red khazz silk." This passage would lead one to infer that the Umayyad caliphs had royal factories in the Yemen itself, and Yemen garments seem to have been sent as robes of honor for a letter dated in the same reign, contains the phrase: "They have sent you the Yamanī garment (thawb), so when it comes to you, put it on." [26]

Djahshiyārī,[27] quoting a list of special products of the provinces brought to the treasury (Bait al-Māl) during the reign of Harun al-Rashid, a list compiled by an official who had also served under al-Mahdī, gave the figure for the annual tax as 870,000 dinars, apart from cloth (thiyāb). Rashid's physician, Bakhtīshū' ibn Djibrā'īl, obtained annually along with other perquisites, three robes of figured material from the Yemen (al-washī al-Yamanī).[28]

Djāḥiẓ mentioned silken Yemen stuffs:

> The best kinds of figured washī stuffs are the Sābirī kind, the Kufan variety, the ibrīsm-silk kind (probably embroidered with silk), the type which is embroidered with gold and woven (al-mudhahhab al-mansūdj), then the Alexandrine figured washī stuff of pure linen, then that which is woven with gold, then the spun figured cloth (al-washī al-ghazlī), then that which has in it ibrīsm silk, but contains no gold; that is the Yamanī kind, because in this fashion it is more valuable than the spun (ghazlī) stuff. The ibrīsm-silk kind does not fetch the price that the Yemen type does, for a spun(ghazlī) garment sometimes fetches a thousand dinars.[29]

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by Omar. Describing the prophet's wardrobe, H. Lammens ("Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet," *Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici* [Rome, 1912], pp. 69–70) said: "Pour les circonstances solennelles il revêtira donc la grande chlamyde rouge. Elle lui avait coûté 50 dinars. . . . Ou bien il choisira dans sa garde-robe les tuniques en soie, ou en pourpre, le beau manteau, chamarré d' or, rapporté par Khālid ibn al-Walīd de Dūmat al-Djandal; d'autres tuniques d'apparat, cadeaux des moines, habitant les déserts voisins, des chrétiens de Nadjrān, ou achetées par ses agents en Syrie, en Égypte, à Aden, à Ṣuḥār, à Ḳaṭar, au Ḥaḍramawt, et dans les autres centres manufacturiers comme Manbidj de Syrie." For the materials bought at Aden, Ṣuḥār, Ḳaṭar, and Hadramaut, Father Lammens unfortunately gives no references to the sources of his information.

[21] *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, I, 32.

[22] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901), II, 364.

[23] *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1927–36), I, 259.

[24] *Ibid.*, IX, 338. Cf. 'Azīmuddīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 83: "Burd mufawwaf has white stripes (khaṭṭ) on it, and al-burūd al-mufawwafa are of the weave (nasdj) of the Yemen."

[25] *Ibid.*, II, 136.

[26] al-Djahshiyārī, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 281–88. Ibn Khaldūn (*Prolégomènes historiques*, ed. M. de Slane (Paris, 1862–68), I, 364, gave the revenue in the reign of Ma'mūn as "370,000 dinars without counting stuffs." Ibn Khurdādbih, *Liber viarum et regnorum*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1889), VI, trans. p. 108, estimated the tax at 600,000 dinars.

[28] Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Aṭibbā'*, ed. A. Müller (Cairo, 1299 H. [1882 A.D.]), I, 136.

[29] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," *Revue de l'acad. arabe de Damas*, XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 334 f.

In another place,[30] among the exports of the Yemen he enumerates khiṭr (a black dye), wars (a yellow dye still in use),[31] and cloaks (burūd[32]).

The geographers vary but little; according to Ibn Khurdādbih, "the exports of the Yemen are figured washī stuffs and other garments, ambergris, wars-dye, mules, and donkeys,"[33] and "Aden is one of the important ports[34] . . . there is ambergris there, and musk, as well as goods from Sind, Hind, and China, the Negroes (Zandj), Fars, Basra, Jidda, and Ḳulzum."[35] Ibn al-Faḳīh[36] said that "the people of the Yemen have Yemen cloaks (ḥulla), Sa'īdī, and Aden garments." Hamdānī (*ob.* 945 A.D.) said:

> In the Yemen are the precious kingly (mulūkī) articles of silk (ḥarīr), and leather mats (anṭā') of al-Ṣutt which do not get wet through the rain of many days, and the carpets of al-Rīḥ of this silk, and it is marvelous.[37]

Maḳdisī said:

> The specialties of the different parts of this province are the leather of Zabīd, and its unrivalled indigo (nīl[38]) which is like lapis lazuli, the linen cloths (shurūb) of Aden which are preferable to ḳaṣab-linen, the fibres of al-Maḥdjara called līf, the striped cloaks (burūd) of Suḥūlā and al-Djuraib, the leather mats and bags of San'a, the Sa'īdī cloth of San'a, and the wars of Aden.[39]

Of Suḥūl, Bukhārī said:

> The apostle of God was shrouded in three pieces of white cotton stuff called Suḥūlīya, from the village of Suḥūl in the Yemen. In these three pieces there was neither shirt nor turban.[40]

Yemen fabrics enjoyed a high reputation in centers of fashion, for the *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*[41] notes the striped cloaks of the Yemen as an item in a list of precious materials, and the *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*[42] says that the dandies of that age wore Aden cloaks with borders (al-ardiya al-muwashshāt al-'Adanīya). Even as late an

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 342.

[31] For an article on wars, see A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet* (Wien, 1922), pp. 266–70.

[32] Throughout most of this work the word "burd" has been translated as "cloaks" wherever there is no contra-indication against this meaning. From footnote 8, it is clear that this word covers a whole range of textiles. See H. Scott, *In the High Yemen* (London, 1942), plate facing p. 137.

[33] Ibn Khurdādbih, *op. cit.*, trans., p. 52.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[35] For a note on Ḳulzum, a port near Suez (al-Suwais) which later supplanted it, see the *Encyl. Islām*, (Leyden, 1913–38), II, 1114–15.

[36] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 252. For the Arab-China trade, see Chau Ju-Kua, *Chu-fan-chih, on the Arab and Chinese Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, trans. by F. Hirth, and W. W. Rockhill (St. Petersburg, 1911), I, 22, 61, 114. A broad survey of the available sources may also be consulted in Hadi Hasan, *A History of Persian Navigation* (London, 1928).

[37] Hamdānī, *Geographie der arabischen Halbinsel*, ed. D. H. Müller (Leyden, 1884–91), I, 202.

[38] The indigo of South Yemen is still well known. In many of the mountainous areas of the Aden Protectorate the tribesmen smear it on their bodies, and with it they dye their three pieces of clothing, the fūṭa, the sash, and the turban. Of recent years this practice has to a large extent disappeared in the Yemen itself. Cf. Grohmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 262–66.

[39] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii moslemici*, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed., 1906), III, 98.

[40] Bukhārī, *el-Bokhârî, Les Traditions islamiques*, trans. by O. Houdas and W. Marçais, *Publications de l'École des langues orientales vivantes* (= *P.E.L.O.V.*) (Paris, 1905–14), IV, III, I, 409, 414. This is repeated in al-Balkhī, *Le Livre de la création et de l'histoire*, ed. and trans. by C. Huart (*P.E.L.O.V.*), IV (1916), XXII, V, text, p. 68. See also A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients* (Leipzig, 1864), p. 154, and al-Zamakhsharī, *Kitāb al-Amkina wa 'l-Djibāl wa 'l-Miyāh*, ed. S. de Grave (Leyden, 1856), p. 85.

[41] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 132.

[42] Al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*, ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), p. 124.

author as Ibn Khaldūn [43] is moved to say, showing the estimation in which the Yemenite manufacture was held:

> The arts last long in a civilized land. They are preserved there, always reviving, especially those which are peculiar to the Yemen, such as the manufacture of figured (washī) stuff, 'aṣb-stuff, the weaving of clothes and stuffs of silk, etc., which have been brought to perfection.

A passage from Ḳalḳashandī [44] may indirectly imply the existence of ṭirāz factories in the Yemen:

> One of the insignia of the Caliphate consists of the caliphial garments (thiyāb al-Khilāfa). Sultan 'Imād al-Dīn, the lord of Hama, in his history, in the chapter on the biography of al-Malik al-Sa'īd Isma'īl, one of the Ayyubid monarchs in the Yemen, said that he acted foolishly therein. He claimed that he was one of the Umayyads and donned the caliphial garments. Then he (the author) said that the length of the sleeve in that day was twenty inches (shibr); he may have meant the time of the Umayyads or that of the Ayyubids.

Ibn Baṭūṭa [45] stated that the king of the Yemen (al-Mu'aẓẓam Yūsuf ibn Rasūl) "used to provide the covering for the Kaaba until al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ḳalāūn (the Mameluke) deprived him of that right." According to Khazradjī,[46] again in 800 H. (1397–98 A.D.), the sultan of Arabia sent the covering for the sacred edifice to Mecca.

The most important textile manufacturing center seems to have been the capital, San'a. According to Ibn Rusta,[47] "from San'a are imported leather, sandals of unscraped skins (ni'āl musha"ara,[48] leather mats (anṭā'), the valuable striped material (burūd), the cloth of a single color (muṣmat), and the striped cloaks (ardiya), a striped cloak fetching a hundred dinars there." Hamdānī [49] remarked in passing that during the summer in San'a the people wear "heavy clothes (ṣakrawī) of wool and silk." Isḥāḳ ibn al-Husain [50] (*ca.* 340 H. [950 A.D.]) wrote of precious garments made in San'a. Idrīsī [51] said that "most of the houses are constructed of wood and planks; there is one where they make the stuffs known under the name of stuffs of San'a."

[43] Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes d'Ebn Khaldoun,* ed. E. Quatremère, *Notes et Extr. de la Bibl. Nat.,* XVI-XVIII (1858), II, 314, and *Prolégomènes historiques,* trans. by M. de Slane (Paris, 1862–68), II, 366. For thiyāb al-khilāfa see Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.], III, 274.

[44] *Ibid.,* III, 274.

[45] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah,* ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), I, 324.

[46] Khazradjī, *Al-Khazrajī's History of the Rasúlí Dynasty of Yaman,* ed. E. G. Browne, R. A. Nicholson, and A. Rogers (Leyden-London, 1906–7), G.M.S., III, II, 268.

[47] Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-A'lāḳ al-Nafīsa,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1892), VII, 112.

[48] This translation was suggested to me by R. Levy, and it may refer to the Badawi sandals known as ḥuyūsh.

[49] Hamdānī, *op. cit.,* p. 11 (before 334 H. [945 A.D.]). This word is uncertain. See the note of H. W. Glidden in his review of the Hamdānī edition of Faris, *Ars Islamica,* IX (1942), 223.

[50] Isḥāḳ ibn al-Ḥusain, *Kitāb Ākām al-Marḏjān, Il compendio geografico arabo di Isḥāḳ . . .,* ed. A. Codazzi, *Rendiconti della r. accad. naz. dei Lincei,* VI, IV (1929), 390.

[51] Idrīsī, *Géographie,* trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), I, 50. This passage is highly suspect for the houses of San'a today are not constructed of wood but of mud or stone; nor is it at all likely that they were constructed of other materials in Idrīsī's time. If the translator is not at fault, Idrīsī's information can scarcely be correct. At the present day Imam Yaḥyā has a private factory at San'a said to be under the charge of an Egyptian, which makes fabrics for the royal house. At Aden I have seen a fine example of striped silk from this modern ṭirāz totally different from the peasant manufactures of the country. Gold is used in weaving there, and lovely stuffs worth very high prices are produced. I do not know whether inscriptions are ever on these textiles, but they closely resemble the medieval stuffs. Brauer, *op. cit.,* p. 246 said, "Ṣan'ā' ist für einen halbseidenen Stoff berühmt."

Khāḳānī [52] mentioned the khazz silk of Kufa and the washī of San'a as fine stuffs. Nuwairī [53] (*ob.* 1333 A.D.) noted that one says "the striped stuffs of the Yemen" and "the figured washī-stuffs of San'a." These garments thus became proverbial; that some at least had a ṭirāz-inscribed border is known from modern discoveries of San'a fabrics.[54] Ibn al-Wardī (early fourteenth century) mentioned the wars-dye of San'a.[55]

Aden's participation in the textile trade probably goes even further back into antiquity than the writing of the *Periplus,* extracts from which have been quoted above. The purchases of Aden cloth made by the king of Ḥīra at 'Ukāẓ represent a traditional knowledge of a textile trade to northern Arabia from Aden, although the story itself smacks of legend. Ibn Hishām [56] mentioned a man wearing an Aden cloak (ḥulla 'Adanīya) at Minā during the heathen rites performed there before the triumph of the prophet. In the early Islamic period a lady in the Hejaz gave Aden cloth (thiyāb) as a present.[57] There does, however, seem to be some doubt as to whether the cloth known as "'Adanī" was manufactured in Aden, or, as some authorities incline to think, was imported there from the Far East (India and China).

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi [58] quoted from a poet: "Many a garden . . . which Aden has clothed with its washī-silk." Isḥāḳ ibn al-Ḥusain [59] gave Aden cloth brief mention, and Maḳdisī [60] noted in his list of items of merchandise which come to the port:

> Aden receives (in addition to other wares that come to the Yemen) ambergris, linen cloth (shurūb), shields, Abyssinian slaves, servants, leopard skins, . . . Chinese wares are proverbially famous.

The linen cloth was probably imported from Egypt; in this connection it is worthy of note that Abū Makhrama [61] mentioned a certain Abdallah ibn 'Abd al-Djabbār ibn Abdallah al-'Umawī al-'Uthmānī al-Tādjir al-Bazzāz al-Kārimī al-Iskandarānī (the Alexandrine merchant and trader in cloth), who was born at Alexandria in 544 H. (1149–50 A.D.). This merchant presumably traded between Egypt and Aden. Nor is his an isolated instance, for another Alexandrine merchant is mentioned who flourished before 665 H. (1266–67 A.D.).

Goods coming to Aden from abroad or from the interior of the Yemen were taxed at the port. Abū Makhrama writing between 870 H. (1465 A.D.) and 947 H. (1540 A.D.) has preserved a tariff of dutiable goods drawn up by a certain Khalaf the Jew, called al-Nahāwandī, presumably a man of Persian origin like so many of the notables and traders established in the Yemen at

[52] Khāḳānī, *Dīwān* (Teheran, 1316–17 H. [1899–1900 A.D.]), p. 630. This author flourished during the sixth century H. (thirteenth century A.D.). Reference from M. Minovi.

[53] Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–37), I, 369.

[54] Cf. *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe,* ed. E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, and G. Wiet (Cairo, 1932), III, 151, IV, 174. See also "Ṭirāz," *Encyl. Islām, Suppl.* (Leyden, 1938), p. 250, where an Abbasid stuff from the San'a ṭirāz dated 311 H., is mentioned.

[55] Ibn al-Wardī, *Perle des merveilles . . .,* par Ebn el-Ouardi, partly trans. by M. de Guignes, *Notes et ext. de la bibl. du roi* (Paris, 1789), II, 42.

[56] Ibn Hishām, *Das Leben Muhammed's nach Muhammed Ibn Isḥâḳ bearbeitet von Abd el-Malik ibn Hischâm,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1858–60), I, I, 282. Hamdānī, *op. cit.,* p. 86 quoted a legend that when 'Ād ibn Iram's tomb was discovered the body was dressed in "two 'Adanite garments heavily sewn with jewels."

[57] *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Bulaq., 1285 H. [1868–69 A.D.]), III, 105.

[58] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1293 H. [1876 A.D.]), III, 187.

[59] Isḥāḳ ibn al-Ḥusain, *op. cit.*

[60] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 97. Cf. Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* I, 51.

[61] Abū Makhrama, *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter* (Uppsala, 1936), II, 115, 117 (*Ta'rīkh Thaghr 'Adan*).

that time. This tariff [62] was in operation during the sway of the Zurai'id dynasty (519–69 H. [1125–73 A.D.]), and the following dues were payable:

On the buhār (300 lbs.) of flax, seven and a half dinars. . . . On the pieces of silk of Zabīd manufacture, half a dinar and a djā'iz (equivalent to eight fils, a small copper coin) were charged; on a Ẓafār length of cloth (thawb), a quarter dinar and a djā'iz; on a white piece (shiḳḳa), the eighth of a dinar; on Sūsī three ḳīrāṭs, on Sūsī fūṭas (kilts or wrappers [63]), a quarter and a djā'iz; on a score of cloaks (kawradja al-Maḥābis [64]), four dinars; on a score of hand-woven fabrics (? aḥwāk), two dinars and a half, as also with subā'ī; [65] on a dozen lengths of unbleached Indian cloth (al-thiyāb al-khām), two dinars; on large Sūsī fabrics (sawāsī [66]) of linen (kattān), two djā'iz and a ḳīrāṭ; and on the small (variety) two djā'iz and two fils.

An interesting note adds that articles upon which no duty is payable are "pillows (mikhadda), cushions (miswar), and Arab [67] cloths made in Malabar (B d ḳ lī)." [68]

Imports from Daibul are mentioned, but they do not include textiles. If the reading "Arab cloths" is correct, this passage may allude to the colored fūṭas made in the East Indies, similar to those imported at the present day. Sa'di's *Gulistān* [69] contains the story of a merchant who takes the Yemen striped cloth (burd-i Yamānī) to Pars, and the Rūmī brocade (dībā) to India, so there was evidently a not inconsiderable exchange of textiles with India during the thirteenth century, in which Sa'di flourished. The quantities of Far Eastern products which arrived at Aden may be conjectured from reading that in 703 H. (1303–4 A.D.) a merchant arrived from China (Khiṭā) with merchandise of great value, including "silk (ḥarīr) 300 buhārs (1 buhār being equivalent to 300 Baghdad raṭls or pounds) . . . a great quantity of cloth of different

[62] *Ibid.*, I, 59, 60. According to W. H. Ingrams, *A Report on the Hadramawt* (London, 1937), p. 13, the buhār is about 300 lbs.

[63] For this word fūṭa (pl. fuwaṭ), see S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India* (Madras, 1942), p. 96, quoting al-Muhallabī (fourth century H.): "I have not heard this word in aught of the language of the Arabs, and I know not whether it be an Arabic word or of the language of the foreigners, but I have seen in al-Kūfa striped waist wrappers which are sold, and are bought by the camel drivers and the Arabs of the desert and the servants and people of the lowest sort who use them as waist-wrappers and call them thus." Dr. Nainar quoted Ibn Duraid as maintaining that it is a word of the language of Sind arabicised from ڈوتی , and another source which gives the Yemen equivalent as Azharīya. Nashwān ibn Sa'īd (*op. cit.*, p. 82) said: "Al-Fūṭa is striped cloth (burd mukhaṭṭaṭ) brought from the Yemen."

[64] Vocalised kūradja, in E. V. Stace, *An English-Arabic Vocabulary* (London, 1893), p. 149. In the translated extract from the "Ta'rīkh al-Mustabṣir of Ibn al-Mudjāwir" in F. M. Hunter, *An Account of the British Settlement of Aden in Arabia* (London, 1877), p. 193, maḥābis is rendered "coverlets or cloaks." This, however, is probably not a very satisfactory rendering. In Chapter X of this inquiry, reins are said to have been woven in the prisons of Bukhara (maḥābis), and perhaps some word has been lost here in the text which might have given the name of a stuff woven in the prisons. Löfgren makes it equivalent to "miḳrama, Decke."

[65] Subā'ī, literally "(cloth) consisting of seven (parts)," or "seven (yards in length)." The meaning is uncertain, but Miles (*op. cit.*) translated this word as "scarves."

[66] Sawāsī, another uncertain word which has been taken here as a plural of Sūsī, the well-known fabric. It may, however, be the name of some kind of garment, the name having been extended from the place to a special piece of clothing, or it may even be merely the name of some type of fabric without relation to any place of origin, as we now say "damask." I have become very uncertain whether to derive this name from Sūs in Khuzistan, Sūs in North Africa, or Suez in Egypt. As this textile is of linen, and we have no reference to linen at Sūs in Khuzistan, I think that the cloth intended is Suez cloth, and that it is a trade-name for cloth exported from Egypt by this route.

[67] Miles, *op. cit.*, p. 194, has "garabi" for " 'Arabī."

[68] Abū Makhrama, *op. cit.*, I, 63–64.

[69] Sa'di, *The Gulistān of Sa'dī*, ed. J. Platts (London, 1874), p. 82.

colors." The duty he paid on these and other goods at Aden port amounted to the enormous sum of 300,000 dinars.[70]

Abū Makhrama [71] added that a sort of cloth called "Rūsī is sold by the ḳaṣaba, the length of the ḳaṣaba being four yards (dhirā')." Rūsī cloth is also mentioned by Mahmud Ḳārī of Yezd [72] and by 'Umarī,[73] the former also alluding here and there to the striped cloth of the Yemen (burd-i-Yaman).

Ibn al-Wardī described Aden:

> . . . jolie ville qui est l' abord des vaisseaux de l' Inde et de la Chine, et où l' on trouve toutes les productions des pays Orientaux qui y sont apportées de divers endroits, de la soie, des armes . . . des myrolabans . . . et des habits faits d' herbes, plus estimés que ceux de soie.[74]

Ibn al-Wardī may be referring to the finely plaited reed or palm fiber (I am uncertain which) made into the little caps worn under the turban by the inhabitants of the Tihāma coast; these are so finely made that they are as pliable as cloth.

Ibn Baṭūṭa remarked:

> Large ships come here (to Aden) from Cambay (Kanbāyāt), Tannah (Tāna), Quilon (Kawlam), Calicut (Ḳāliḳūt), Fandarāyina, Shāliyāt, Mangalore (Mandjarūr), Fākanwar, Onor (Hinawr), Goa (Sandābūr). Indian merchants live in this town.[75]

Some of these Indian cities mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭa are cited by several Arabic sources as manufacturing or exporting textiles.

There was a vigorous trade in madder (fuwwa) exported from the Yemen to Aden by way of Mafālīs [76] between the years 600–700 H. During the Zurai'id period it was liable on import into the city to a duty of twelve dinars a buhār. Saffron and indigo were also imported and dutiable.[77] In this connection it may be added that another substance sometimes used in dyeing, myrobalan (ihlīladj), is mentioned at al-Muztaḥifa one parasang from Zabīd, on the Aden road.[78]

[70] Khazradjī, *op. cit.*, text, ed. Muhammad 'Asal (Cairo-London, 1913–18), IV, 350.

[71] Abū Makhrama, *op. cit.*, I, 65. Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, V, 93, noted that in India only those notables "wear garments of linen (kattān) imported from the Rūs and Alexandria whom the sultan has clothed with it."

[72] Niẓām al-Dīn Mahmud Ḳārī of Yezd, *Dīwān-i-Albisa* (Constantinople, 1303 H. [1885–86 A.D.]), pp. 9, 17, 39. For this poet see P. Horn, "Der persische Kleiderdichter Machmud Kari," *Beil. Allgem. Zeit.*, CCXXXVIII (Munich, 1900), 3–7. For Yemen cloth, *ibid.*, pp. 30, 38, 183. Rūsī seems to have been a linen cloth.

[73] See Chapter XIV.

[74] Ibn al-Wardī, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[75] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, II, 177. For these Indian ports, Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Travels in Asia and Africa*, trans. by H. A. R. Gibb (London, 1929). Still later G. W. F. Stripling, *The Ottoman Turks and the Arabs, 1511–1574* (Urbana, Ill., 1942), p. 23, has summarized the information supplied by the European travelers of the period which he covers: "It (Aden) enjoyed a large trade with the coast of eastern Africa and Hurmuz. To the former were brought clothes, and in return the merchants carried back to Aden gold, horses, and ivory. Aden exchanged its copper, quicksilver, vermilion, coral, wool and silk cloths, opium, raisins, rosewater, stuffs from Mecca, ingot gold, thread, and camlets with the Indian merchants for beads, spices, drugs, rice, iron, sugar, pepper, ginger, lacquer, musk, cottons, spun and unspun, coconuts, benzoin, sandalwood, aloes, and rhubarb. The cotton ships from India were so large that they amazed the Europeans. Twenty-five was the usual number of vessels in the annual fleet carrying madder to dye clothes in Hurmuz. But not only Aden was noted for its commerce; on a smaller scale the cities of Ta'izz and Zabīd were famous for their wealth from the same sources."

[76] Abū Makhrama, *op. cit.*, I, 63, 60, and elsewhere.

[77] *Ibid.*, I, 59.

[78] Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 149. For myrobalan see also Nainar, *op. cit.*, p. 200. H. Lammens, "La Cité arabe de Ṭaif à la veille de l'Hégire," *Mélanges de l'Université de Saint-Joseph à Beyrouth*, VIII (1922), IV, 208 quoted Burkhardt on Aden stuffs.

The Ma'āfir in the Ta'izz district had, from the earliest times, a reputation as weavers. The Tubba' As'ad Kāmil, according to legend, the first person to cover the Kaaba,[79] is said to have hung it with Ma'āfir cloth, and the prophet's body is also said to have been wrapped in cloth from that district. Abū Dharr[80] defined the word: "Al-Ma'āfir are cloths (thiyāb) of the cloth of the Yemen." Ibn Hishām[81] related that the prophet gave an order that in the Yemen every Christian or Jew must pay a full Ma'āfir dinar, or "a length ('urḍa) of cloth." Besides Ma'āfir, striped cloths (burūd) were made in many localities, the most frequently mentioned of which are Ḳudūm[82] and Shar'ab.[83] Today Shar'ab is known for its many Jewish weavers.[84]

Zabīd, still a noted center of weaving today,[85] is described by Maḳdisī[86] as the gateway of China and the seaport of the Yemen. Its silk manufactures, as already noted, were taxed at Aden, and Khazradjī[87] included a material called Zabīdī with Bunduḳī and Mosul stuffs as being with a force proceeding along the south coast of Arabia to Ẓafār and Raisūt (*ca.* 678 H. [1280 A.D.]).

The wars plant was grown at Mudhaikhira (near Suḥūl), according to Ibn Ḥawḳal.[88] "On its slopes wars, which is a red plant of the same type as saffron, is planted. Two maunds of it are sold for a dinar, and it is used for dyeing." It is one of the products for which the Yemen is famed. Yāḳūt[89] said:

> Al-Aṣma'ī said, "There are four things which have filled the world and which are only to be found in the Yemen. These are wars, dye, frankincense (kundur) woad (khiṭr), and 'aṣb-cloth."[90] He continued, "Ibrāhīm ibn Makrama one day boasted before al-Ṣaffāḥ (132–36 H. [749–54 A.D.]) when Khālid ibn Ṣafwān was present, and this began to irk him, so he said, 'After all, you are

[79] *Encyl. Islām, Suppl.*, p. 138, Ma'āfir, and also the Shams al-'Ulūm, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[80] Abū Dharr, *Sharḥ al-Sīra*, ed. P. Brönnle (Cairo, 1911), II, 445. Cf. Shams al-'Ulūm, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[81] Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, I, II, 956. The word 'urḍa is perhaps equivalent to عرضية in Dozy, *op. cit.*, II, 113, though in the reference cited there it is applied to a turban cloth. See also al-Zamakhsharī, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

[82] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 39. Cf. Zamakhsharī, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

[83] *Ibid.*, III, 275. Cf. Shams al-'Ulūm, *op. cit.*, p. 53. Another place mentioned in the latter book (p. 68) is 'Abḳar: "the name of a place in the Yemen in which washī-silk is woven." M. Minovi has given me a reference to E. G. Browne, "Description of an Old Persian Commentary on the Ḳur'ân," *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1894, p. 492. The MS of this Koran was probably transcribed in 628 H. (1231 A.D.), but the material is probably somewhat earlier. A note says: "'Abḳarī is said to be a town where they weave good washī-silk."

Shams al-'Ulūm (*op. cit.*) also mentioned several other types of Yemen cloth which have not been identified. One of these is (p. 35) khāl, which name also appears in *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, II, 94, and is described as a Yemen stuff striped black and red (burūd fīhā khuṭūṭ sūd wa ḥumr) from which "drawers" were made. Yet another cloth (Shams al-'Ulūm, *op. cit.*, p. 40) is muraḥḥal "one of the striped cloths (burd) of the Yemen with pictures (taṣāwīr) of 'al-riḥāl' on it." In this latter case one ought probably to read muradjdjal and ridjāl. Muradjdjal is described by Lane, *op. cit.*, I, III, 1047, as "burd upon which are the figures of men." *Ibid.*, I, III, 1047, quoting from native sources as in the previous case: Riḥāl are "carpets or cloths, or the like, such as are called ṭanāfis of the fabric of El-Heereh" (Al-Ḥīra in Iraq).

[84] Brauer, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

[85] *Ibid.*

[86] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 84 and 86.

[87] Khazradjī, *op. cit.*, I, 211. Bunduḳī is probably Venetian cloth. Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, V, 405, said of Venice (Mamlakat al-Banādiḳa): "It is the source of the Venetian sheeting (? djūkh -"drap") which surpasses every kind of sheeting."

[88] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Opus Geographicum*, ed. J. H. Kramers (2d ed.; Leyden, 1938–39), p. 37. Cf. Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 51.

[89] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 1036. Cf. Ibn Ḳuṭaiba al-Dīnawārī, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* (Cairo, 1925 A.D. [1343 H.]), I, 214.

[90] Abū Dharr, *op. cit.*, I, 32, said: "'Aṣb is a kind of cloth (thiyāb) of the Yemen." Cf. Shams al-'Ulūm, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

but tanners of hides, weavers of striped cloth (burd), keepers of monkeys, and riders of bad animals.' "

Yemen stuffs have been discovered and studied in detail. Most of the known examples are made of cotton, which was both imported and grown, at any rate in the lower Yemen, for Khazradjī [91] spoke of cotton plants ('uṭb) growing on the 'Isḳilīya plain in the Sihām district on the low western seaboard country to the north of the valleys of Zabīd and Rima', about the year 726 H. (1325 A.D.). The same author [92] recorded under the annals for the year 1392 A.D., that the inhabitants of the Wādī Zabīd and elsewhere were excused from the "growing of cotton," or, more probably, from the "tax on cotton." [93] Cotton is grown in the Yemen to this day, and in the course of the last twenty years Imam Yaḥyā's government has been making experiments with Egyptian seeds of the Sakellaridis type.[94]

Pfister [95] has discussed Yemen stuffs: "L' effet flammé est obtenu par le procédé de l'Ikat qui a peut-être pris son origine en Arabie et qui a trouvé son plus grand développement dans les isles de la Malaisie et au Camboge." He cited a piece of Yemenite material from the Musée Arabe which is embroidered with the name of al-Muḳtadir. The ṭirāz-bearing textiles illustrated by N. P. Britton [96] seem, in several respects, similar to the present-day fūṭas of the Yemen, which also have the ikat; there also seems to be a certain resemblance in the woven patterns and the finish of the ends of the material after it is taken off the loom. In the larger cities it is possible that nearly identical types of cloth still in actual use and manufacture might yet be found. A description of the loom employed in South Arabia to this day is given by F. M. Hunter.[97]

From the sparse documentary evidence at present available it is not possible to form an adequate conception of the commercial activity in the cities of the southern coast farther to the east than Aden, but there is little doubt that they had an importance which was more than merely local. Marco Polo [98] mentioned the im-

[91] Khazradjī, *op. cit.*, III, 45. This text, however, seems to be somewhat corrupt.

[92] *Ibid.*, IV, 229.

[93] For مصاحلة العطب "the growing of cotton" of the existing text, I propose to read مصادرة العطب, "the tax on cotton."

[94] These experiments are commented upon by Nazīh Mu'aiyad al-'Aẓm, *Riḥla fi 'l-Bilād al-'Arabīya al-Sa'īdīya* (Cairo, 1937). Brauer, *op. cit.*, p. 246, said: "In Jemen ist die Weberei allerdings auch unter den Arabern weit verbreitet, besonders in den Gebieten, die eine Baumwollkultur besitzen."

[95] R. Pfister, "Matériaux pour servir au classement des textiles égyptiens postérieurs à la conquête arabe," *Rev. des arts asiatiques*, X (1936), 78. See further the article of M. P. Verneuil, "L'Ikat et les tissus ikatés des Indes orientales," *Rev. des art asiatiques*, III (1926), 123. Pfister also mentioned an article by Iklé, "Über Flammentücher," *Festschr. f. Marie Andrée Eysn* (1928).

Pfister noted that according to Pliny, cotton grew in Arabia.

[96] N. P. Britton, *A Study of Some Early Islamic Textiles* (Boston, 1938), pp. 72–75, Pls. 91 and 92. Mrs. Britton also gave (p. 74) a list of sources where Yemen textiles have been discussed. Cf. also her "Pre-Mameluke Ṭirāz in the Newberry Collection," *Ars Islamica*, IX (1942), 166. For a fūṭa similar to these ancient weaves, see H. F. Jacob, *Kings of Arabia* (London, 1923), pl. facing p. 206. Without doubt the patterns of these fūṭas are of great antiquity. Local custom lays down the colors and types of cloth which men and women may wear. The mountain tribes mostly wear cotton fūṭas dyed with indigo. Nowadays the Yemenites mainly wear white. Where colored fūṭas are worn each tribe seems to prefer a special type. Many materials are still made locally, but there is an import of Syrian and Indian silks, and Indonesian textiles.

[97] Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[98] *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, trans. by H. Yule (London, 1875), II, 278. Stripling, *op. cit.*, p. 23, referring to a later period, described the trade of Shiḥr, the most important city of the kingdom of Fartak, "It had a great trade in wares from Cambay, Chaul, Dabul, Baticala, and Malabar. Coarse and fine cotton

ports of cotton at Shiḥr. Ibn al-Mudjāwir [99] quoted by Guest, stated that about the year 618 H. (1221 A.D.) there was a road from Baghdad to Raisūt by which caravans used to bring Baghdad fabrics and take back Indian products. The duties paid on Ẓafār cloth at Aden in the twelfth century have already been noted, and Ibn al-Mudjāwir [100] spoke of the cloth taken back from there to Baghdad by the caravans. Ibn Baṭūṭa [101] said of this port: "Their garments are of cotton which is imported to them from India . . . They make beautiful silk (ḥarīr), cotton, and linen stuffs there."

On the authority of an earlier author, Ḳalḳashandī [102] gave the following note on the liberal attitude of the rulers of the Yemen toward the arts:

> The kings of the Yemen import continually from Egypt and Syria (Miṣr wa 'l-Shām) numbers of craftsmen and traders (arbāb al-ṣinā'āt wa 'l-baḍā'i') with their wares of various kinds. The pre-eminent cadi Abu 'l-Rabī' Sulaimān b. al-Ṣadr Sulaimān said, "The lord of this realm ever wishes strangers, receives them well, and gives them (official) employment according as is suitable to each of them."

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stuffs, jewels, ... were exchanged at Shiḥr for horses and wormwood. Ẓafār, its nearest rival, also maintained a considerable trade with the Indian merchants, especially in cottons and rice." Today, Shiḥr is an important center of cotton weaving. The cotton is mostly imported, but the plant grows in the Hadramaut, and yarn was at one time made from it. Some silk is also woven in Shiḥr.

[99] R. Guest, "Zufar in the Middle Ages," *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad, 1935), IX, III, 405. See Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

[100] Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 146: "Es gab einen sichern Weg von Baghdad nach Mirbāṭ und Ẓafār, auf welchem die Beduinen zweimal im Jahre Pferde nach Yemen brachten und dafür Rosenwasser ('iṭr) und Kleidungsstoffe (bazz) mit nach Iraq zurücknahmen."

[101] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Voyages*, II, 198–99.

[102] Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, V, 36; for an account of the dress of the officials of the country see *ibid.*, V, 34.

This statement is borne out by the numerous names which indicate a foreign origin in the histories of the medieval Yemen.

This chapter should not close without a note on the "Dragon's Blood" (dam al-akhawain) produced at Sokotra. It is mentioned by the anonymous author of *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, by a contemporary of the prophet,[103] and by many other writers.

[103] See, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, II, 358, and *Encyl. Islām*, IV, 476–81, "Soḳoṭrā." At the present time woolen strips are woven in Sokotra in grays and browns. They are known locally as Suḳuṭrawīya.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE I

Ḳalḳashandī (*op. cit.*, I, 410–11) has an interesting article entitled "The Famous Markets of the Pre-Islamic Arabs," which has probably been extracted bodily from some much earlier book, but without acknowledgment. From internal evidence it is clear that the earlier author utilized by Ḳalḳashandī was drawing on fairly reliable material. At any rate it is probable that the author of this passage, if my surmise is correct, had sources at his disposal as reliable as those used by the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* for the pre-Islamic period, and quoted here: "The Arabs had markets (sūḳ) which they used to set up during the (various) months of the year. They used to go from the one to the other, and all of the Arab tribes, from near or afar, attended them. They would encamp at Dūmat al-Djandal on the first of (the month) Rabī' al-Awwal to set up their fairs for buying and selling and interchange of commerce. Ukaidir of Dūma used to tax them one-tenth there (reading here and throughout this passage يعشرهم for يعشوهم), for he was the king of Dūma; but sometimes (the) Kalb (tribe) obtained possession of the market—then one of the Kalb chiefs would take the tax from them. Their fair would last there until the end of the month, then in the month of Rabī' al-Ākhir, they would go to the market of Hadjar at Bahrein, and their fairs would be (held) there. At this market al-Mundhir b. Sāwā, one of the Banū Abdallah b. Dārim, the king of Bahrein, would tax them one-tenth. Then from Bahrein also, they would travel to Oman where their fair would take place. Thence they would go, to encamp at Iram and the villages of Shiḥr of the Yemen, where fairs would be set up for some days. They would next go and stop at Aden of the Yemen from which they bought perfumes (laṭīma) and various sorts of scent (ṭīb). After this they would take their way to

CHAPTER XVI
EGYPTIAN TEXTILES

INDICATIONS ARE NOT LACKING TO SHOW THAT the Arabs, before they overran the Near East, were well acquainted with, and prized Egyptian stuffs (Maps 2 and 3). The Coptic textiles (Ḳubāṭī) with which Omar and Othman used to cover the Kaaba, have already been discussed in a previous chapter.[1] This cloth must, I think, have come from the Tinnīs-Damietta group of factories, in which the weavers, even under Muslim domination were Copts. It is likely that this Coptic cloth was imported into the Hejaz for several hundred years before Muhammad; the holy cities were supplied with corn from Egypt by way of Jidda. Maḳrīzī spoke of a Ḳubāṭī covering for the Kaaba made at Shaṭā in the time of Harun al-Rashid,[2] which is virtual proof that this was what the Arab writers understood by the term, though it need not have been applied exclusively to the products of this group of factories.

Nor was Rashid the first of the Abbasid monarchs to use this material, for Azraḳī[3] recorded that al-Mahdī covered the Kaaba with "Ḳubāṭī, and khazz silk and brocade." Ma'mūn, in 206 H. (821 A.D.) asked the postmaster of Mecca what the best type of cover for the Kaaba was, because it was discovered that the covers wore away too quickly. After his time, the Sacred House was given three coverings—first, red brocade (dībādj), then Ḳubāṭī, then white brocade.[4] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi confirmed this:

> When the season for the meeting of the pilgrims at Mecca (al-Mawsim) drew nigh, it (the Kaaba) was covered with Ḳubāṭī, which is white Khurāsānī, brocade. It is this covering (kiswa) that the people wore as iḥrāms (the pilgrim garb of simple white cloth). When the people had accomplished the pilgrimage, that is, on the day called Yawm al-Naḥr, the house was stripped and

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visit Hadramaut of the land of the Yemen. Some, on the other hand, used to omit (calling) there, and go (straight) to San'a to hold fairs where they traded for its kharaz (beads, gems, or shells of the type called wada', "cowries"), leatherware (adam), and striped cloaks (burūd) which were exported to San'a from Ma'āfir. In the Sacred Months they proceeded to (the fair of) 'Ukāẓ where markets were held, chanting verses to one another and engaging in disputation. Whosoever had a (fellow tribesman) a prisoner, sought to ransom him, and whosoever had a case, would bring it before (the person) who had the right of judgment. The last person to hold this right was al-Aḳra' b. Ḥābis al-Tamīmī. Then they would stop at 'Arafa and perform the rites of the pilgrimage, after which they would return to their native lands, arriving in safety and with great profit."

I have altered the reading in this passage because it does not make sense as it stands, and because in the Yemen of today and the Aden Protectorate a market tax is an ancient established custom. If kharaz in the context here means "beads" it would be evidence of the existence of glass manufacture in this part of Arabia before Islam.

In an article which has appeared since I wrote this chapter, F. Krenkow ("The Annual Fairs of the Pagan Arabs," *Islamic Culture*, XXI [Hyderabad, 1947], 111–13), drew attention to very early versions of this passage which I am not able to consult at present. An article however in *Al-Rābiṭat al-'Alawīya*, I, III (Batavia, 1347 H.), 121, entitled "Li 'l-Tārīkh" mentions this itinerary without citing sources. Here D bā is substituted for Iram, and the author stated that after visiting Aden, the traders went to Al-Rābiya in Hadramaut. D bā may be the place marked Dhuba on the maps near Shiḥr, and this would certainly suit the text better.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE II

Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, V, 45, spoke of a pre-Islamic king of the Yemen who reigned in his capital of San'a, anterior to the Sasanid monarch Sābūr Dhu 'l-Aktāf (Shāpūr II, 310–79 A.D.). He said this was the first Yemenite king to raid Rūm and to introduce silk (ḥarīr) and brocade (dībādj) to the Yemen. Is this a faint and distorted recollection of the expedition of Aelius Gallus?

[1] See Chapter 1.

[2] Egyptian textiles for the reign of Harun al-Rashid are known, and the list of dated Egypto-Arabic textiles in J. M. Upton's "Dated Egypto-Arabic Textiles in the Metropolitan Museum of Arts," *Metropolitan Mus. Studies*, III (1930–31), 158–73, should be consulted.

[3] *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1857–61), I, 182 (Azraḳī).

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

covered with red Khurāsānī brocade on which there were rings (? dārāt) with "Ḥamd Allāh wa-tasbīḥuhu wa-ta'ẓīmuhu" written therein. Thus it remained until the following year.[5]

This passage raises some difficulties, always supposing that the reading of the text is correct.[6] Perhaps he calls this Coptic cloth Khurāsānī because he was thinking of the plain white cloth of Merv.

Taghrībirdī [7] stated that in the eleventh year of his reign (396 H. [1006 A.D.]) al-Ḥākim, the Fatimid ruler of Egypt covered the Kaaba with white Ḳubāṭī. It was generally from the Tinnīs-Damietta group of factories that the Kaaba-covers (kiswa) were supplied, and even as late as this, their manufactures were known by this name. By Ḳubāṭī, then, can be understood a white linen cloth from Tinnīs, Shaṭā, and Dabḳū (which I have assumed is the same place as Dabḳā and Dabīḳ), Tūna, Dumaira,[8] or Dīfū, and others of lesser note, not even mentioned by these authors; and these linens were sometimes brocaded. Both Shaṭā and Dabḳū were textile centers in Byzantine times.

The passage of Djāḥiẓ in the *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif* [9] which implies that there were ṭirāz factories in Egypt as early as Omar, the second caliph, seems anachronistic, but Egyptian fabrics were used by the Umayyad caliphs, for 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān said one day to his companions: "What napkins are the noblest kind?" Someone said: "The napkins (mandīl) of Miṣr which are like the white skin inside eggshells." Others said: "The napkins of Yemen which are like the blossoms of Spring." [10] It is probable that the Umayyads were sent these Egyptian stuffs with the tribute, for Balādhurī [11] noted that the inhabitants of Miṣr (Egypt) were required to supply the Muslims with a woolen upper gown (djubba ṣūf), an upper cloak (burnus) or turban ('imāma), trousers (sarāwīl), and a pair of shoes a year. Instead of the djubba, a Coptic garment (Ḳibṭī) might be provided. Von Falke, too, discussed Byzantine institutions in this part of the world, with some resemblance to the ṭirāz system, and a Coptic textile from Dabīḳ has been found by archeologists.

In the *Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tijāra*, Djāḥiz [12] merely said: "From Egypt come well-paced asses, fine garments, paper (ḳirṭās), balm oil, and, from al-Ma'dan (the mine), splendid topaz." He thought that "the best robes (aksiya) are of Egyptian wool." Egyptian cloaks are mentioned by Ibn al-Faḳīh [13] among other precious articles which merchants used in trade. Miskawaihī [14] talked of a "djubba of Egyptian wool" (317 H. [929 A.D.]), and in 355 H. (966 A.D.) he mentioned a caravan carrying 1,500 bales of bro-

[5] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 270.

[6] Possibly, Khusrawānī should be read for Khurāsānī, though this reading is borne out by the quotation from Azraḳī translated in Appendix II.

[7] Yūsuf ibn Taghrībirdī, "Abu 'l-Maḥāsin ibn Taghrībirdī's Annals, al-Nudjūm al-Ẓāhira," ed. W. Popper, *Univ. Calif. Publ. Semitic Philol.*, II (1909), 100.

[8] For the pronunciation of this name see *Encyl. Islām* (Leyden, 1913-38), IV, 785–93.

[9] See Chapter I.

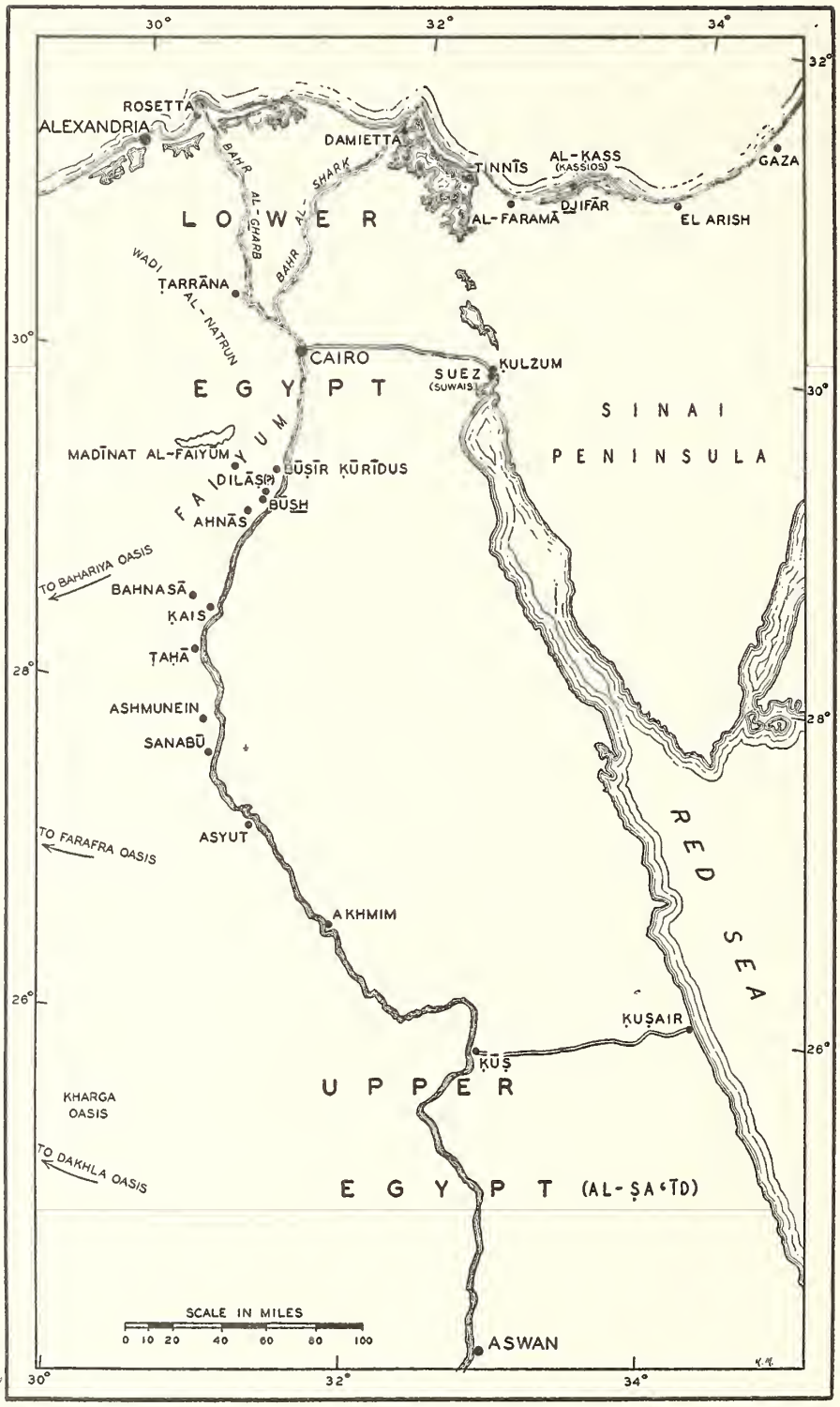
[10] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1285 H. [1868–9 A.D.]), XVIII, 164, Cf. *ibid.*, XX, 50. See also E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1863–93), I, V, 2020, عرقى

[11] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), p. 215, trans. by P. Hitti (New York, 1916), I, 338. Cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Bulaq, 1270 H. [1853 A.D.]).

[12] Djāḥiz, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. Hasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Revue de l'acad. arabe de Damas*, XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 342 and 337.

[13] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1885), V, 50.

[14] Miskawaihī, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, ed. and trans. by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1920–21), text, I, 197, trans., IV, 221.


30°
32°
34°
32°
30°
28°
26°
ROSETTA
ALEXANDRIA
DAMIETTA
TINNĪS
AL-ḲASS
(KASSIOS)
GAZA
BAḤR AL-SHARḲ
BAḤR AL-GHARB
L O W E R
AL-FARAMĀ
DJIFĀR
EL ARISH
WADI AL-NAṬRUN
ṬARRĀNA
CAIRO
SUEZ
(SUWAIS)
ḲULZUM
E G Y P T
S I N A I
P E N I N S U L A
MADĪNAT AL-FAIYŪM
FAIYUM
BŪṢĪR ḲURĪDUS
DILĀSIP
BŪSH
AHNĀS
TO BAHARIYA OASIS
BAHNASĀ
ḲAIS
ṬAḤĀ
ASHMUNEIN
SANABŪ
ASYUT
TO FARAFRA OASIS
AKHMIM
R E D S E A
ḲUṢAIR
ḲUṢ
U P P E R
KHARGA
OASIS
TO DAKHLA OASIS
E G Y P T (AL-ṢA'ĪD)
SCALE IN MILES
0 10 20 40 60 80 100
ASWAN

Map 2. Egypt

caded linen (dikk) to Mecca, the name of the fabric being the same as that which is said to have been produced in Egypt in Omar's time.[15] Again, a cadi of Baghdad (385 H. [995 A.D.]) had a thousand garments of Egyptian wool (ṣūf al-Miṣr).[16]

The *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*[17] gives the following list of products:

It produces textiles (djāma), handkerchiefs (dastār), and robes (ridā') of various kinds, than which there are none more precious in the whole world—such as Egyptian woolen goods and textiles and handkerchiefs made of Dabīḳī (and?) khazz-silk.

The fine linen known as ḳaṣab is quoted by Tha'ālibī[18] in a list of precious stuffs enumerated by a wit at the court of 'Aḍud al-Dawla.

Part I

THE TINNĪS–DAMIETTA GROUP

An early notice of a Dabīḳī napkin is to be found in the *Aghānī* under the biography of Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī, the well-known singer who was a favorite of Ma'mūn;[19] the same singer found al-Mu'taṣim wearing a Dabīḳī shirt (ḳamīs) which looked as if it had been cut out of the planet Venus.[20] A record contemporary with Ma'mūn of conditions among the workers in Tinnīs,[21] as witnessed by the Christian patriarch Dionysius when on a visit to Egypt about the year 200 H. (815 A.D.), states:

Although Tinnīs has a considerable population and numerous churches, we have never witnessed greater distress than that of its inhabitants. When we enquired into the cause of it, they replied: "Our town is encompassed by water. We can neither look forward to a harvest nor can we maintain a flock. Our drinking water comes from afar and costs us four dirhams a pitcher. Our work is in the manufacture of linen which our women spin and we weave. We get from the dealers half a dirham per day. Although our earning is not sufficient for the bread of our mouths we are taxed for tribute and pay five dinars a head in taxes. They beat us, imprison us, and compel us to give our sons and daughters as securities. For every dinar they have to work two years as slaves.

This passage doubtless refers to the hard conditions which were imposed by the ṭirāz system on weavers—a kind of corvée it would seem, according to Nāṣir-i-Khusraw and others.[22] It is a curious omission on the part of the *Djirāb al-Dawla* that no textiles are given as coming from Egypt to the caliphs in Baghdad along with the tribute. The ṭirāz factories there may have been the private property of the Abbasid monarchs and never have been reckoned as state revenue-producing concerns.

Abu 'l-Ḳāsim[23] declared to the Iṣfahānis:

By Allah, I do not see a garment of red (shuḳairī) Dabīḳī, nor one of Dabḳāwī[24] . . . nor garments of ḳaṣab of Samannūd (?), Damsīs (?), Tinnīs and Damietta . . . nor yet 'Attābī Dabīḳī with borders embroidered with gold (mu'lam muthaḳḳal), on the body of a single one of you.

[15] *Ibid.*, text, II, 215, trans., V, 228. This is not a very common word. See Chapter I, footnote 16, and R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed.; Paris, 1927), and the glossary to the *B.G.A.*

[16] *Op. cit.*, text, II, 262, trans., VI, 278.

[17] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 151.

[18] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1876), p. 132.

[19] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *op. cit.*, V, 424.

[20] *Ibid.*, V, 345.

[21] J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien . . . 1166–1199* (Paris, 1899), trans., III, 63. (Reference from A. Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, trans. by Salahuddin Khuda Bukhsh and D. S. Margoliouth [London, 1937]).

[22] See Chapter II and the passage quoted from the *Safar-nāma* of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, *infra*.

[23] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim*, ed. A. Mez (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 35.

[24] From Dabḳā. Samannūd and Damsīs are conjectural emendations for the unknown words سموت and دسيس. Both of these Egyptian cities were noted for their manufacture of linen. The explanation of the term 'Attābī Dabīḳī has been attempted in Chapter II, ii, footnote 54.

Gold-embroidered pillows (makhādd) were not to be seen in the furnishings of their houses. Speaking of Baghdad, the same author noted:

> The people wash their hands and he hands them a napkin (mandīl) of Mutawakkilī (that is, after the style of the Caliph Mutawakkil's fabrics—a mulḥam stuff ?), Dabīḳī of a velvet texture (mukhmal), which is light and embroidered with a ṭirāz border of Egyptian manufacture, with two ornamented borders ('alam), and two bands (zunnār), and two patterns of fine thread (daḳīḳ al-silk) of perfect length and lovely width, short of pile, bordered with a fringed (? mashḳūḳ) border, softer than ḳazz silk and pleasanter to the touch than khazz silk—such are the attributes of the tables of Iraq, none of which, by Allah, do I see with you.[25]

These two passages if we are to consider the rhetoric of the satirist seriously would indicate that the Egyptian fabrics were little imported into Persia.

The Abbasid caliphs made considerable use of these Dabīḳī materials. Mas'ūdī [26] stated that Mu'taḍid (279–89 H. [892–902 A.D.]) "ordered the keepers of his wardrobe (khuzzān) to choose the best of the Sūs and Dabīḳī stuffs so as to keep them aside for himself." Al-Muḳtafī, his successor, is noted by Usāma ibn Munḳidh [27] as wearing a Damietta garment. Al-Hilāl al-Sābi' wrote of a table covered with Dabīḳī at one of Ibn Furāt's social gatherings (*ca.* 300 H. [912 A.D.]) [28] and again, in the vizierate of Ali ibn 'Īsā, he mentioned a precious red (shuḳairī) Dabīḳī shirt.[29] The material seems to have been used for all kinds of furnishings. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī [30] spoke of Baghdad pleasure boats which were decked out with embroidered Dabīḳī (Dabīḳī muṭarraz) with awnings of gold-embroidered Dabīḳī (aghshiyatuhā Dabīḳī mudhhab) in the year 305 H. (917 A.D.). He also mentioned an ebony throne upholstered (farasha) with Dabīḳī, embroidered with gold (muṭarraz bi 'l-dhahab).[31]

Tanūkhī [32] gave an example of another of the many uses to which the Dabīḳī cloth was put. A man who had dealings with Muḳtadir's mother, said:

> I used to buy for her Dabīḳī cloth called sandal cloth because it was close-woven (or coarse) and cut in sizes like sandals made by a cobbler, and then steeped in musk and molten ambergris, and when hardened, was inserted between two layers of stuff in quantities sufficient to sustain it. We used to fabricate numerous pieces of this sort and pack them together and then gum them together with pieces of ambergris, and stick them together so that they become one piece. We used to make the first layer white and polished and sew silk around, and furnish it with straps like the straps which are plaited out of leather . . . he added that the queen mother's sandals were of this material and that she never wore a pair more than ten days or thereabout, by which time it would show signs of wear and begin to crumble, meaning the loss of several dinars which it had cost. When cast off by the queen mother it would be taken by the keepers or others who would extract the musk and ambergris and appropriate them.

Tanūkhī [33] noted that a certain man of Baghdad had so many clothes that each kind required a number of boxes, for example, the Dabīḳī shirts (durrā'a) were kept separate from those of brocade. This author also mentioned "a Dabīḳī robe of Shustar costing two hundred dinars." [34] If the term is not one of

[25] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[26] Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or* (Paris, 1861–77), VIII, 115.

[27] Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 173, trans., I, 205.

[28] Al-Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (Leyden, 1904), p. 240.

[29] *Op. cit.*, p. 327.

[30] G. Salmon, *L'Introduction topographique à l'histoire de Bagdadh d'Aboû Bakr Aḥmad ibn Thâbit al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdhî* (Paris, 1904), text, p. 53, trans., p. 138.

[31] *Op. cit.*, text, p. 55., trans., p. 140.

[32] Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara, Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, ed. and trans. by D. S. Margoliouth (London, 1921), text, p. 143. ff., trans., pp. 156–57.

[33] *Op. cit.*, text, p. 190, trans., p. 208.

[34] *Op. cit.*, text, p. 29, trans., p. 31.

mere loose application, it would seem that this type of manufacture had even established itself in Khuzistan (*ca.* 327–84 H. [929–94 A.D.]).

The *Fihrist*[35] under the name Ḳurra ibn Ḳ mīṭā al-Ḥarrānī records that "this person made a map (ṣifa) of the world and Thābit ibn Ḳurra al-Ḥarrānī copied it. I have seen this map on cloth of raw Dabīḳī (thiyāb Dabīḳī khām) in color (iṣbāgh), the dye having been waxed." This evidently refers to the process of dyeing with wax which has been studied by Pfister in textiles from Egypt of an early period. The technique may be connected with that of early Egyptian portraits of the Ptolemaic dynasty painted by the encaustic process. The *Fihrist* was written in 378 H. (988 A.D.).

In recording the events of the year 379 H. (989 A.D.), Miskawaihī[36] described a barge carpeted with Dabīḳī, above which there was embroidered red cloth of brocade (miḳrama dībādj ḥamrā' manḳūsha), whereas the saloon was carpeted with yellow brocade and covered with embroidered Dabīḳī (miḳrama Dabīḳīya). Ibn Khalliḳān[37] related that al-Afḍal Shāhanshāh, who died in the year 488 H. (1095 A.D.), left, among other things, 500 chests of royal clothing (kiswa li 'l-khāṣṣa), consisting of the brocade (diḳḳ) of Tinnīs and Damietta.

The *Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra* (written before 570 H. [1175 A.D.]) has a special notice devoted to those two fabrics:

Dabīḳī and Sharb

People's tastes vary in regard to the ṭirāz borders and the ornamented embroideries (ruḳūm, inscriptions ?), but they are agreed in the preference of that which is of the finest thread, and closest of weave, of the purest white, of the best workmanship, red, and golden; and, where Dabīḳī is concerned, whatever is beautiful even if raw (khām); but when it is compressed[38] it is not esteemed.

Merchants make mistakes about this kind of cloth, so that it is necessary, where that is concerned, to refer back to the knowledge of the country where it is manufactured, for it (the country) is well known to people of experience. These descriptions will allow us to dispense with describing linen cloth, both the raw (or unbleached khām), and the compressed kinds, for the praiseworthy qualities of both are the same.[39]

THE GEOGRAPHERS

A continuous series of records of the manufacturers of Tinnīs and Damietta is preserved by the geographers. Ya'ḳūbī (278 H. [891 A.D.]) said:

Tinnīs is an ancient city in which valuable garments of Dabīḳī and ḳaṣab (linen) are made, of close texture and fine, as well as striped cloaks (burūd) and stuffs of a velvet texture (mukhmal), figured stuffs (washī), and other kinds of cloth. It has a port for ships coming from Syria and the Maghreb. Then there is the town of Shaṭā which is on the seacoast, and the Shaṭawī garments are made there. Then comes the town of Damietta in which garments and sharb-linen and ḳaṣab cloths are made; then comes Būra where cloth and paper (ḳarāṭīs) are manufactured.[40]

Ibn Rusta[41] merely mentioned Tinnīs as an island where splendid cloth is made. Ibn al-

[35] Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel and J. Roediger (Leipzig, 1871–72), I, 285.

[36] Miskawaihī, *op. cit.*, text, III, 152, trans., VI, 160.

[37] *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, trans. by M. de Slane (Paris-London, 1843–71), I, 614. *Dictionnaire biographique d'Ibn Kallikan, texte arabe* (Paris, 1838), p. 313.

[38] Reading ma'ṣūr for the maḳṣūr of the text. Cf. al-Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *op. cit.*, p. 240, and other places. The precise significance of this fairly common word is uncertain.

[39] Dja'far ibn Ali al-Dimashḳī, *al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra* (Cairo, 1318 H. [1900 A.D.]), p. 26. For the date of this work, see C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar–Berlin, 1898–1902), Suppl. Bd. (Leyden, 1937–39), I, 907, and *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba fī Aḥkām al-Ḥisba* of Ibn *al-Ukhuwwa*, ed. R. Levy, Gibb Memorial Ser. (=G.M.S.), n.s., XII, xv. ff.

[40] Ya'ḳūbī, *Kitāb al-Boldān, B.G.A.*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1892), VII, 337.

[41] Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-A'lāḳ al-Nafīsa*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1892), III, 90.

Faḳīh [42] stated that Egypt was specially noted for its cloth above all other articles: "They have Dabīḳī and Shaṭawī cloth, ḳaṣab, linen of the gold-embroidered (mawzūn) and plain (muyassar) kinds, and other varieties of linen robes and wool [43] . . . and Tinnīs and Alexandrine stuffs." Mas'ūdī [44] compared a miṭraf of red khazz silk to Dabīḳī stuffs.

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi said: "Tinnīs garments are called after it. It has a ṭirāz factory belonging to the caliph. Dabīḳ has Dabīḳī stuffs called after it. Shaṭā has Shaṭawī stuff named after it." [45]

Iṣṭakhrī [46] merely said that Egyptian cloth is made in the cities of Tinnīs and Damietta (340 H. [951 A.D.]), but Ibn Ḥawḳal [47] related rather more:

> Among their large cities and native products peculiar to them alone, is that which is peculiar to Tinnīs and Damietta. They are two islands between the salt and the sweet water. . . . Fine linen (kattān) garments of sharb and Dabīḳī, dyed stuffs (muṣabbaghāt), consisting of Tinnīs striped cloaks (ḥulla) which nothing on earth can approach for price and beauty, softness and luxury, thinness and fineness, are to be found manufactured there. Sometimes a single cloak (ḥulla) of their cloth will fetch two hundred dinars when it contains gold. One without gold sometimes fetches a hundred dinars, more or less. Everything manufactured there is of linen, and sometimes the weight of a mithḳāl of its thread will fetch several dinars. Although Shaṭā, Dabḳuwā, Dumaira, and Tūna, and the adjoining islands have valuable articles of these kinds manufactured in them, yet those cannot approach the Tinnīsī, Dimyāṭī, and the Shaṭawī, a load of which, in our times, fetches from twenty thousand dinars to thirty thousand for the supply of Iraq. This has stopped through exactions (placed on the industry), and the person who was chiefly responsible for that was the cursed Abu 'l-Faradj ibn Killis, the vizier of al-'Azīz (365–86 H. [975–96 A.D.]), for he eradicated it by vexatious impositions, exactions, and continued severity on the workers so that he even put a tax on those entering and leaving Tinnīs. There is more than one fine ṭirāz factory in Egypt which will be mentioned in its place.

Of this vizier Maḳrīzī [48] said: "His position became so high that his name was written on the ṭirāz borders and in the books." This latter phrase almost certainly refers to the ṭirāz stamp on the papyrus. The same author noted: "In one day, the revenue of Tinnīs, Damietta, and Ashmunein was 220,000 dinars. This was unheard of in any other country, and continued until Muḥarram 365 H. (975 A.D.)."

Isḥāḳ ibn Husain (*ca.* 340 H. [950 A.D.])[49] also knew of the ṭirāz factory belonging to the sultan in Tinnīs, where they make various valuable kinds of robes. Al-Kindī [50] said: "There is not a ṭirāz factory in the world of which a simple garment (thawb sādhidj) without any gold fetches a hundred dinars except the cloth of Tinnīs and Damietta. The Persian geographer of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* [51] noted "Tinnīs and Damietta . . . produce woolen and linen stuffs of very high price."

Maḳdisī (375 H. [985 A.D.]) described Tinnīs thus:

[42] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

[43] I suggest the renderings of "gold-embroidered and plain" for the above terms, equivalent to muthaḳḳal and sādhidj, which are to be found in later authors.

[44] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, VII, 270.

[45] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, IV., 268.

[46] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum* . . ., ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 50.

[47] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Opus geographicum*, ed J. H. Kramers (2d ed.; Leyden, 1938–39), p. 152 ff.

[48] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Bulaq, 1270 H. [1853 A.D.]), II, 6. See J. von Karabaček, "Zur Orientalischen Altertumskunde, I. Die arabischen Papyrusprotokolle," *Sitz. Ber. phil.-hist. Kl., Akad., Wien,* CLXI (1909), 25. A successor when designated, had his name placed on the textiles, robes of honor, and the papyrus rolls.

[49] Isḥāḳ b. al-Ḥusain, *Kitāb Ākām al-Marjān,* ed. A. Codazzi, *Rend. d. r. accad. naz. dei Lincei,* ser. sesta, V (1929), 404.

[50] Al-Kindī, *Faḍā'il al-Miṣr,* extracts in Youssouf Kamal, *Monumenta cartographica Aegypti et Africae,* III (Leyden, 1928), II, 638. The date is *ca.* 340 H. (950 A.D.)

[51] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* p. 151.

It is Baghdad the lesser, a very mountain of gold, the emporium of the East and West. . . . Most of its inhabitants are Copts. . . . Cloth and colored cloaks (ridā') are made there. . . . Damietta possesses more skilled workmen, and more precious cloth than Tinnīs. . . . Shaṭā is inhabited by Copts, and the cloth is named after it. . . . From Tinnīs, but not Damietta come colored garments, and from Damietta linen (ḳaṣab). . . . Imposts are heavy (in Egypt), especially at Tinnīs, Damietta, and the Nile bank. Now, concerning Shaṭawī cloth, it is impossible for a Copt to weave any unless the stamp of the sultan has been placed upon it. Nor can it be sold except through the intermediary of brokers who have been entrusted with this function, and the sultan's officer writes down what has been sold in his notebook. Then it is taken to someone to wrap it up, then to another to be tied up in wrappings (ḳishr), then to another to be packed in chests (safaṭ), then to another to rope it, each of these men having a due to take. Then at the harbour gates a certain sum is taken. Each one writes his mark on the chest, and then the vessels are inspected at the time of sailing.[52]

There were similar dues to be paid at Alexandria on vessels. According to Maḳdisī again:

At Jidda, on every chest of Shaṭawī three dinars are taken, and on every chest of Dabīḳī, two dinars, on every load of wool, two dinars. At 'Aththar, on every load, a dinar. . . . At Bāb Zabīd, on every load of cloth half a dinar.[53]

It is likely that these stuffs may have gone to Iraq by sea when the land route was perilous.

Benjamin of Tudela,[54] the well-known Jewish traveler of the time of Caliph al-Mustarshid, mentioned "Damietta, which is Caphtor, where there are about two hundred Jews." These Jews cannot have been dyers as they usually were in Muslim countries, for in Damietta we learn that no dyed stuffs were made, so they must have been traders or agents of some kind. It might be added here that Damietta was one of the ports of entry for Egypt and all the geographers notice the Frankish ships that used to come here to trade with the hinterland. Benjamin also mentioned that there were 700 Jews at Dumaira, who might have been engaged in this trade.[55]

The Syriac historian Bar Hebræus,[56] related that the Genoese in the year 1110 A.D. took from Arab ships which they captured, coming from Tinnīs and Damietta, "fifty loads of bales of Damietta cloth."

The well known passages from Nāṣir-i-Khusraw on the products of the Egyptian factories are really enlightening (438 H. [1047 A.D.]):

Tinnīs makes colored ḳaṣab (rangīn) used for turbans, headdresses (wiḳāya), and women's clothing. Nowhere else is such fine ḳaṣab made as at Tinnīs. White ḳaṣab is made at Damietta; the ḳaṣab woven in the sulṭan's workshop (kārgāh) is neither sold nor given to anyone. I have heard that the ruler of Fars (one of the Buwaihids) had sent 20,000 dinars to Tinnīs to buy a complete set of royal robes (yak-dast djāma-yi-khāṣṣ). His agents stayed several years in the town without being able to manage this transaction. There are famous weavers there who weave the royal robes. I was told that one of them had woven a piece of cloth designed for the turban of the sultan (dastār). He received for this piece of work the sum of 500 Maghribī dinars. I have seen this turban. It is estimated to be worth 4,000 Maghribī dinars.

It is at Tinnīs, and nowhere else that they make the stuff called Būḳalamūn, the color of which changes according to the different hours of the day. It is exported to the countries of the East and West. The Greek sultan, they say, sent a person to offer a hundred towns for Tinnīs. This was refused. His wish was to procure ḳaṣab and Būḳalamūn from it." [57]

The population of the town in his day was

[52] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d. ed., 1906), III, 201 ff, 203, 213.

[53] *Ibid.,* p. 104.

[54] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela,* ed. and trans. by M. N. Adler (London, 1907), trans., p. 77.

[55] *Ibid.,* p. 74.

[56] E. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus* (Oxford, 1932), p. 244.

[57] Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, *Safar-nāma,* ed., and trans. by C. Schefer, *Relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau, Publ. de l'école des langues orientales vivantes* (=*P.E.L.O.V.*) (Paris, 1881), II sér., I, trans., pp. 110–13, text, p. 36 ff.

50,000 males, and a thousand boats lay always in the harbor, some belonging to merchants, but most belonged to the sultan. All the necessities had to be carried to it because it produced nothing. He continued:

"The ḳaṣab and Būḳalamūn made for the sultan are paid for at their exact value; thus the workmen work willingly for him, as by contrast to the other countries where the government and the sovereign impose forced labor on the artisans. There are woven in Būḳalamūn the covers for litters (djāma-yi-'imārī) which are placed on camels and saddlecloths (namad-zīn) destined for the private use of the sultan. At Tinnīs iron objects are manufactured also. . . .

This Būḳalamūn stuff is mentioned by the earlier Djāḥiẓ:

Abū Ḳalamūn is one of the crimson-colored, Greek, kingly textiles (zalālī Khusrawānī Rūmī ḳirmizī), with various lines (or striped khuṭūṭ, the reference here, in the light of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw doubtless, being to the lines of the warp and the woof). Violet (banafsadjī, thread) is crossed with red and green. They say that it changes its color with the ascendent of the day, and the glare of the sun. It is very expensive to buy.[58]

The name of this cloth might imply that it was introduced from the eastern provinces of the Byzantine empire in Sasanian times. The word itself, Būḳalamūn, is derived from the Greek,[59] and this crimson dye seems to have come from Armenia in particular. The name Khusrawānī seems to imply that this was one of the textiles used by the ancient Sasanian monarchs. Perhaps the material was manufactured in Persia by workmen who were transferred there by these sovereigns from the Armenian area. The stuff was also known to Mas'ūdī [60] who compared it to the stone of the same name (jasper) which, he says, shows different colors, red, green, and yellow. The variation is due to the lustre of the jewel and the different aspects from which one perceives it. The varying colors in the jewel are like the colors of a peacock's feathers.

Perhaps Nāṣir was thinking of his native country Persia when he mentioned the forced labor of the artisans; this helps to throw some light on the regulations for the ṭirāz system there. This state of affairs is greatly different from the period of Dionysius. As Nāṣir did not remark that the weavers were Copts, it might be perhaps implied that they had become Muslims, and certainly the conversion would free them of the poll tax which had proved so burdensome in the second century.

Bakrī [61] (sixth century H. [eleventh century A.D.]) spoke of the island of Dabḳū, near Tinnīs, where they made Dabīḳī stuff. Idrīsī seems to have copied Ibn Ḥawḳal's account or his source:

In Tinnīs and Damietta are stuffs made of Dabīḳī and sharb, as well as dyed stuffs (muṣabbaghāt) consisting of Tinnīs cloaks (ḥulla), which cannot be approached by anything in the whole world for beauty and value. A single garment when embroidered in gold is sometimes worth a thousand dinars, and a garment without gold is worth a hundred or two hundred or thereabout. The principal stuff (aṣl) in these robes is linen. As for those which are made at Shaṭā, Dabḳū, and Dumaira in the neighborhood of these islands, they are doubtless very fine, but they do not approach those of Tinnīs and Damietta. . . . As regards Damietta, it is a town built by the seashore, but at a certain distance away from the sea. They make wonderful stuffs and Dabīḳīya, and others which, for perfection of workmanship approach those of Tinnīs. . . .

Dumaira [62] (in the district of Shirbīn) is a little town where they make pretty stuffs for export, and where there are a great many workmen and merchants.[63]

[58] Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

[59] See Dozy, *op. cit.*, I, 6 ff.

[60] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, II, 437 ff.

[61] al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. by G. MacGuckin de Slane (Alger, 1913), p. 174, calls the material Dibekiya.

[62] For this vocalisation, Dumaira, see A. Grohman, "Ṭirāz," *Encyl. Islām*, IV, 785–93.

[63] Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*,

He also mentioned a little town called Shirinḳās near there, which, he remarked, is commercial and industrial so it, too, probably made these stuffs:

Maḥallat al-Dākhil and Dumaira where cloths of sharb are inscribed (rasama) are both cities in which there are private and public ṭirāz factories (ṭuruz li 'l-khāṣṣa wa-li 'l-'āmma).[64]

According to Maḳrīzī [65] Saladin, when he gained the mastery over Egypt, abolished the custom tax of Miṣr and Cairo and Cadi al-Fāḍil made out a new tariff for him which included among other taxes a "stamp-tax on fine linen (sharb) and Dabīḳī brocade" which brought in one thousand dinars.

Even in the troubled times of al-Malik al-'Ādil, Usāma ibn Munḳidh noted "a camel-load of Dabīḳī clothes, siḳlāṭūn, squirrel-furred material (musandjab), Dimyāṭī brocade, and turbans." [66] Aprostrophizing himself in his old age, he said:

After being dressed in the coat of mail, I now dress in cloaks (ḥulla) of Dabīḳī fabric. Woe to me and the cloths (thiyāb mulawwana), upholstery (or carpets), farsh, and Būḳalamūn are made there.[68]

The above authors for the most part have been contemporary with the events which they describe, but later authors have incorporated material from writers whose works are now lost, and these accounts are rather earlier than some which have already been given. First among these must come Yāḳūt, throughout whose encyclopaedia are scattered references to the towns of this group:

Dabḳā . . . It is one of the villages of Miṣr (Egypt) near Tinnīs to which the Dabīḳī garments, which are quite unparalleled, are ascribed. Thus says Ḥamza Iṣfahānī (*ob.* 350–60 H. [961–71 A.D.]), but I asked Egyptians about it and they said: "Dabīḳ is a village near Tinnīs, between it and al-Faramā, but it is ruined nowadays. . . .

Dabīḳ (the modern Dabīdj ?) . . . A land which lay between al-Faramā and Tinnīs of the provinces of Egypt, after which Dabīḳī garments were named, but God alone knows." [67]

The other geographers up to Bakrī and Idrīsī (548 H. [1154 A.D.]) seem to have known the city, though Idrīsī is probably only following earlier sources. Still it is feasible to suppose that Dabḳā (with the variant forms of the name given in other writers) may have prospered up till the Crusade, in which Tinnīs was destroyed.

Yāḳūt said very little about Tinnīs, but he quoted al-Muḥallabī (*fl. ca.* 365–86 H. [975–96 A.D.]):

Conditions in it are the same as in Damietta, except that it is bigger and broader, and various colored cloths (thiyāb mulawwana), upholstery (or carpets), farsh, and Būḳalamūn are made there.[68]

This brevity is hardly surprising, since Tinnīs had been entirely destroyed in 588 H. (1192 A.D.) in face of the Frankish invasion:

The town of Tinnīs was ordered to be evacuated, and the inhabitants to be transferred to Damietta. The trees of the gardens were to be cut, and the women taken

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ed. and trans. by R. P. A. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), text, p. 156. Cf. C. F. Seybold, *Ibn al Aṯîr's Kunja-Wörterbuch betitelt Kitâb al-muraṣṣa'* (Weimar, 1896), p. 175.

[64] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 159.

[65] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ, Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte,* trans. by U. Bouriant and P. Casanova (Paris, 1900–20), p. 298 ff., text (Bulaq, 1270 H. [1853 A.D.]), I, 103 ff.

[66] Usāma ibn Munḳidh, *Usāmah's Memoirs Entitled Kitāb al-I'tibār,* ed P. K. Hitti (Princeton, 1930), pp. 35, 191. *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman,* trans. by P. K. Hitti (New York, 1929), pp. 10 ff. and 161.

[67] Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), II, 546 and 548.

[68] *Op. cit.*, I, 882. Cf. Ḳazwīnī, *el-Cazwini's Kosmographie,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846–48), II, 118.

out of it. Tinnīs had no population left in it apart from a few soldiers.[69]

For Damietta, Yāḳūt again quoted al-Muḥallabi:

"It is noted for its good climate and its manufacture of fine sharb linen" . . . al-Ḥasan ibn Muhammad al-Muḥallabī [70] said: "One of the curious things about Damietta and Tinnīs is that the weavers in them who make these fine garments, are Copts of the lowest, humblest, and meanest of people as regards food and drink. For the larger part of their diet consists of fresh salt fish, or evil-smelling Ṣīr fish, and most of them eat without washing their hands (afterward), then return to those valuable and highly esteemed garments and set to work at weaving them. Then the garment is cut (from the loom), and the person who handles it has not the slightest doubt but that it has been perfumed with nadd scent. Another curious thing about Damietta, he said, is that on the east (ḳiblī) side upon the canal is a place used for the preparation of leather, known as the "factories" (ma'āmil), which is let for the manufacture of cloth of sharb, and it is hardly possible that they can be of a good kind except they come from there. Should a span [71] (shibr) be left over and taken to other factories, the broker purchasing the garment is aware of it, and the price of it is lowered because of the difference of the quality of the cloth.[72]

Ibn Zawlāḳ (before 387 H. [997 A.D.]) said:

Balkhī ḳaṣab of every kind, and sharb are made in Damietta, in none of which manufacture does Tinnīs share, although there is only half a day's journey between the two. A white garment without any gold in it, in Damietta fetches the price of three hundred dinars. No dyed material is made in Damietta, and no white stuff in Tinnīs. . . . Some of the chief and most reliable merchants told me that in the year 398 H. (1007–8 A.D.), two Damietta cloaks (ḥulla) were sold for three thousand dinars. The like of this has never been heard in any country. In it are made Ḳalamūnī (Abūḳalamūn) furnishings (farsh) of every kind, with borders (or badges, mu'allam), and embroidered with a ṭirāz border (muṭarraz), and towels for the body and hands (minshafa). They are treasured by all the kings of the earth.

Shaṭawī garments are called after it (Shaṭā). . . . al-Muḥallabī said: "In Shaṭā and Damietta are made the precious garments, a single one of which, without any gold in it, fetches a thousand dirhams." [73]

Tūna. . . . It is proverbial for its cloth manufacture and for its ṭirāz factories.[74]

Biyawrnabāra. . . . In it is made excellent, surpassingly good wide sharāb.[75]

Abwān. . . . Its inhabitants were Christians; surpassingly good sharb which is called after it was made there.[76]

The *Marāṣid* [77] describes it as "a town which was near Damietta, and the people of which were Christians; valuable sharb was made there and called Būnī after it."

Mustawfī [78] followed older accounts: "The isle of Tinnīs . . . The people weave fine brocades, and the Greek brocades are mostly from Tinnīs. The population live on milk and fish."

It is, however, in the immense work of Maḳrīzī that one finds most information about textile manufactures in Egypt, embedded in much other archeological information. Maḳrīzī drew on a number of different sources. Quoting no authority he said of Dabīḳ:

Dabīḳ is one of the villages which depended on Damietta. There used to be made there stuffs embroidered with gold (muthaḳḳal), turbans of dyed sharb linen,

[69] Maḳrīzī, "Histoire d'Égypte de Maḳrīzī," trans. by E. Blochet, *Revue de l' Orient Latin,* VIII (1900–1901), 213. Cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ, Description topographique* . . ., p. 517.

[70] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* II, 602.

[71] Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.,* II, 129.

[72] This measure is the space between the thumb and little finger when fully extended.

[73] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* III, 288.

[74] *Ibid.,* I, 901.

[75] *Ibid.,* I, 804.

[76] *Ibid.,* I, 101.

[77] Yāḳūt, *Lexicon geographicum cui titulus est Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā',* ed. T. G. J. Juynboll and J. J. B. Gaal (Leyden, 1850–64), I, 18.

[78] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī (Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī), *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb,* trans. by G. le Strange, G.M.S. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 230.

and Dabīḳī stuffs with borders (or badges, 'alam) ornamented with gold. It was also there that they made turbans of linen with gold thread, each one being a hundred dhirā' in length, and having embroideries (raḳamāt) woven with gold. The amount of gold contained in a turban was worth five hundred dinars apart from the cost of the silk (ḥarīr) and thread. These turbans as well as other stuffs were introduced in the time of al-'Azīz bi'llāh ibn al-Mu'izz in the year 365 H. (975–76 A.D.) and used until the death of the prince in Sha'bān of the year 385 H. (995 A.D.).[79]

Of Tinnīs, he [80] said:

Tinnīs was a large town in which there were a great many remains of the ancients. The inhabitants were rich and opulent, most of them being weavers. At Tinnīs they wove linen sharb cloths such as were woven nowhere else in the world, and they used to make for the caliph a garment called badana (a kind of tunic) [81] into the composition of which the only thread introduced for the warp and woof was two ounces (ūḳīya); the rest of the stuff was woven with gold, made with perfect workmanship, and with no need to be cut or sewn. The value of the robe reached a thousand dinars. There was no ṭirāz factory for linen in the whole world where a robe of simple linen and no gold fetched a hundred dinars of money, except at Tinnīs and Damietta.

At Shaṭā, Dīfū, Dumaira, Tūna, and the neighboring islands, they used to make fine cloth, but it could not compare with that of Tinnīs and Damietta. Every year the export of these stuffs to Iraq produced, until after the year 360 H. (970–1 A.D.), from twenty thousand to thirty thousand dinars. When the vizier Ya'ḳūb ibn Killis was made inspector of finances, he destroyed this industry by his vexatious taxations. Christians under protection used to live at Tinnīs and Damietta.[82]

In Shawwāl of the year 624 H. (1227 A.D.), al-Malik al-Kāmil ordered the town of Tinnīs to be destroyed. It was one of the most considerable cities in which princely cloth, and the covering of the Kaaba were woven.[83]

Al-Fākihī, in his *Akhbār Makka* ("History of Mecca") said: "I have seen on that part of the Kaaba which is next to the west corner, a covering (kiswa) which had inscribed on the upper part: "One of the things ordered by al-Sarī ibn al-Ḥākim, and 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Wazīr al-Djarawī, by the command of al-Faḍl ibn Sahl Dhu 'l-Riyāsatain, and Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusain. Year 197 H. (812–13 A.D.)." I have also seen a piece of the Ḳubāṭī of Egypt (Miṣr) in the midst of it (the covering ?) except that they had written with a thin black line at the corners of the Temple: "One of the things which the Commander of the Faithful al-Ma'mūn ordered. Year 206 H. (821–22 A.D.)." I have also seen one of Mahdī's coverings upon which was written: "In the name of God. Blessings from God upon Abdallah al-Mahdī Muhammad, the Commander of the Faithful. May God prolong his existence. One of the things which Isma'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ordered to be made in the ṭirāz factory of Tinnīs, by the hand of al-Ḥakam ibn 'Ubaid, year 162 H. (778–79 A.D.)." I have seen yet another covering of Ḳubāṭī of Egypt on which was inscribed: "In the name of God. The blessing of God. One of the things that Abdallah al-Mahdī Muḥammad, the Commander of the Faithful ordered, God preserve him. Muhammad ibn Sulaimān (ordered) that the covering of the Kaaba should be made in the ṭirāz factory at Tinnīs, by the hand of al-Khaṭṭāb ibn Maslama, his agent, year 159 H. (775–76 A.D.)."

Al-Masīḥī recorded under the events of the year 384 H. (994–95 A.D.):

In Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da there arrived from Tinnīs, Damietta, and al-Faramā, Yaḥyā ibn al-Yamān, with presents, composed of chests (safaṭ), wardrobes (takht), and boxes (ṣundūḳ) full of money, horses, mules, asses, three umbrellas (maẓāll, "ceremonial umbrellas"), and two coverings for the Kaaba.

In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja of the year 402 H. (1012 A.D.) there arrived the present sent every year by the town of Tinnīs which was composed of five camels with their trappings, a hundred head of horses with their saddles and bridles, coats of mail, and manufactured articles, three Dabīḳī tents with their divans, standards, and all the precious furniture and stuffs the town usually gave.

Of Tūna, he [84] said:

[79] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ, Description topographique* . . ., p. 667; *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 226.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 507.

[81] See the "Glossary" to the *B.G.A.* for this word, and also, Dozy, *op. cit.*, and *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, ed. P. de Jong and M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1869–71), 366, where it is said to have been interwoven with pearls and embroidered with precious jewels.

[82] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 176, trans., p. 508.

[83] *Ibid.*, text, I, 181, trans., p. 517.

[84] *Ibid.*, text, I, 181, trans., p. 519.

Among the dependencies of the province of Tinnīs was a village called Tūna where there was made embroidered stuff (ṭirāz) of Tinnīs and where, sometimes, the covering of the Kaaba was made. Al-Fākihī said: "I have seen also a covering given by Harun al-Rashid, made of Ḳubāṭī of Egypt, and bearing the inscription: 'In the name of God. May the blessing of God be on the Caliph al-Rashid Abdallah Harun, Commander of the Faithful. May God be generous to him. One of the things which al-Faḍl ibn Rabī' ordered to be made in the ṭirāz factory of Tūna in the year 190 H. (805-6 (A.D.).

Of Shaṭā, he [85] said:

It is at Shaṭā that the covering for the Kaaba used to be made. I have seen, says al-Fākihī, one of the coverings of the Commander of the Faithful, Harun al-Rashid, of Ḳubāṭī stuff of Egypt, bearing the inscription on the upper part: In the name of God. God bless Abdallah Harun, Commander of the Faithful. This is one of the things which al-Faḍl ibn Rabī', client of the Commander of the Faithful ordered to be made in the ṭirāz factory of Shaṭā. A covering for the Kaaba. 190 H. (805–6 A.D.).

Ibn Duḳmāḳ, the contemporary of Maḳrīzī, quoting one of his sources on the ṭirāz factory at Tinnīs and Damietta, said:

In Tinnīs and Damietta valuable cloth used to be made, and though Shaṭā, Dabīḳ, Dumaira, Tūna, and the adjoining islands used to make this valuable cloth, they did not come anywhere near the Tinnīs, Damietta, and Shaṭā kinds. Every year, stuff to the value of twenty thousand to thirty thousand dinars was despatched to Iraq. The vizier Abu 'l-Faradj Ya'ḳūb ibn Killis, and the vizier al-'Azīz bi 'llāh al-'Alawī al-Ubaidī (the Fatimid) put an end to this by exactions. The second Tinnīs, however, continued to be inhabited until the Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil Muhammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb abandoned it in Shawwāl of the year 624 H. (1227 A.D.) from fear that the Franks might get possession of it. . . . In the towns of Tinnīs and Damietta there used to be made the precious garments of linen (sharb), muḳaṣṣab stuffs (of linen), Tinnīsī, and Dabīḳī which nothing in the world can approach in beauty and costliness. Sometimes a single garment of this cloth, when embroidered in gold (mudhahhab) can fetch the price of a thousand dinars or thereabout. That which does not fetch the price of a hundred or two dinars, or thereabouts, has a basis (aṣl) of linen.[86]

Part II

ALEXANDRIA AND CAIRO

The two capital cities of Egypt each possessed a state factory but, considering their importance, we have remarkably little literary evidence of their activities, though the *Répertoire chronologique* contains many examples of their inscribed textiles.

Alexandria was celebrated in the Roman era as a center of weaving, and this industry continued unabated into Islamic times. The uninterrupted trade in silk with the Byzantine empire is described by von Falke,[87] and it seems to have taken place with the churches, mainly, during the eighth and ninth centuries of Christendom. This great city also supplied the Maghreb, Spain, and North Africa with costly wares; Even India imported cloth from it. Ḳalḳashandī [88] stated:

One of the royal appurtenances is the embroidery (naḳsh) of the sultan's name on clothing (kuswa) which is woven and inscribed (marḳūm), and the embroidered borders (ṭirāz) made of silk (ḥarīr) or gold, with a color different from the cloth (on which it was embroidered), or the ṭirāz borders, in order that the royal garments and embroideries (ṭirāz) may be distinguished from others, to draw attention to the power of its royal owner or that of the person whom he so honors by the investiture, from friendship, or by way of payment, or as a gift, etc. For this purpose there is a special establishment (dār) for its manufacture at Alexandria, known as the dār al-ṭirāz. The Caliphs of both the Umayyads and the Abbasids followed this custom when the Caliphate was in existence.

In the second century, about the time of

[85] *Ibid.*, text, I, 226, trans., p. 666.

[86] Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Description de l'Égypte*, ed. by C. Vollers (Cairo, 1893), II, 79. This authority is al-Ḥāfiẓ Djamāl al-Dīn al-Yaghmūrī (*ob.* 673 H. [1274–75 A.D.]).

[87] O. von Falke, *Decorative Silks* (3d ed.; London, 1936), p. 7.

[88] Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* (Cairo, 1331–18 H. [1913–19 A.D.]), IV, 7.

Harun al-Rashid, the philologist al-Aṣma'ī described certain verses as "khusrawānī brocade and Alexandrine figured stuff (washī)" [89] and Djāḥiẓ [90] related that "the best kind of figured stuff (washī) is the Sābirī and the Kufic variety, and the ibrīsm silk kind, and the gold-woven kind, then Alexandrine figured washī stuff of pure linen." The *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* [91] lists Iskandarī among the clothes worn by the man of fashion in the third century of the Muslim age. Ibn al-Faḳīh [92] too mentioned Alexandrine cloth along with that of Tinnīs and Damietta which kinds, for the most part, they probably resembled.

Bakrī [93] recorded that the stuffs of Ṣafāḳus were manufactured like those of Alexandria, which may indicate the cultural influence of this city extended westward into Africa. Benjamin of Tudela [94] found three hundred Jews in Alexandria, and he gave a long register of countries ranging from Scotland to India which had commercial relations with Alexandria, sending ships there. Each nation had an inn of its own. The *Chanson de Roland* (*ca.* 1066–99) [95] tells of a certain person *"ki fut cuvert d'un palie alexandrine."* There are doubtless other references in early medieval literature. Idrīsī [96] stated that the vessels which come from Alexandria to Ṭulmaitha bring cotton and linen stuffs.

In Fatimid times the factory flourished enormously, if one considers the passages which are quoted from Maḳrīzī on the authority of early and contemporary sources. It seems to have been one of the chief centers of their supplies and had of course a dār al-ṭirāz.[97] Examples of this cloth are listed in the *Répertoire chronologique* and in *Metropolitan Museum Studies.*

Abu 'l-Fidā' [98] said that al-Malik al-Nāṣir (Saladin) gave as presents rare articles of gold set with jewels, and splendid cloth of that which is made for the royal store (al-khāṣṣ al-sharīf) in the dār al-ṭirāz in Alexandria.

The Persian author Mustawfī [99] wrote: "They are of great fame here for their woven stuffs, and Alexandrine cloths are exported thence to all lands." During the whole period of Mameluke control of Egypt, it seems to have been famed for these wares, and the *Thousand and One Nights* commonly mentions Alexandrine and Baalbek stuffs together, and even talks of a hundred different kinds of white cloths of Egypt, silks of Suez, Kufa, Alexandria, and Greek carpets.[100]

According to Maḳrīzī:

> Among the stuffs woven at Alexandria is this linen cloth which is called sharb, one drachm of which is worth a dirham of silver, and those kinds of embroideries which are sold for several times their weight in silver.[101]

'Umarī (700–748 H. [1301–48 A.D.]), telling that the Africans (the Muslims) wear clothes of linen and cotton, mentioned that "those who wear elegant materials from Alexandria and Iraq

[89] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1927–36), V, 318.

[90] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. Hasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb. *Rev. de l'acad. arabe de Damas,* XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 335.

[91] Al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashshā,* ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), p. 124.

[92] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 252.

[93] al-Bakrī, *op. cit.,* p. 47.

[94] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela,* p. 47.

[95] R. Hague, *The Song of Roland* (London, 1937), verse 35. Cf. verse 31.

[96] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* text, p. 136.

[97] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* text, I, 415.

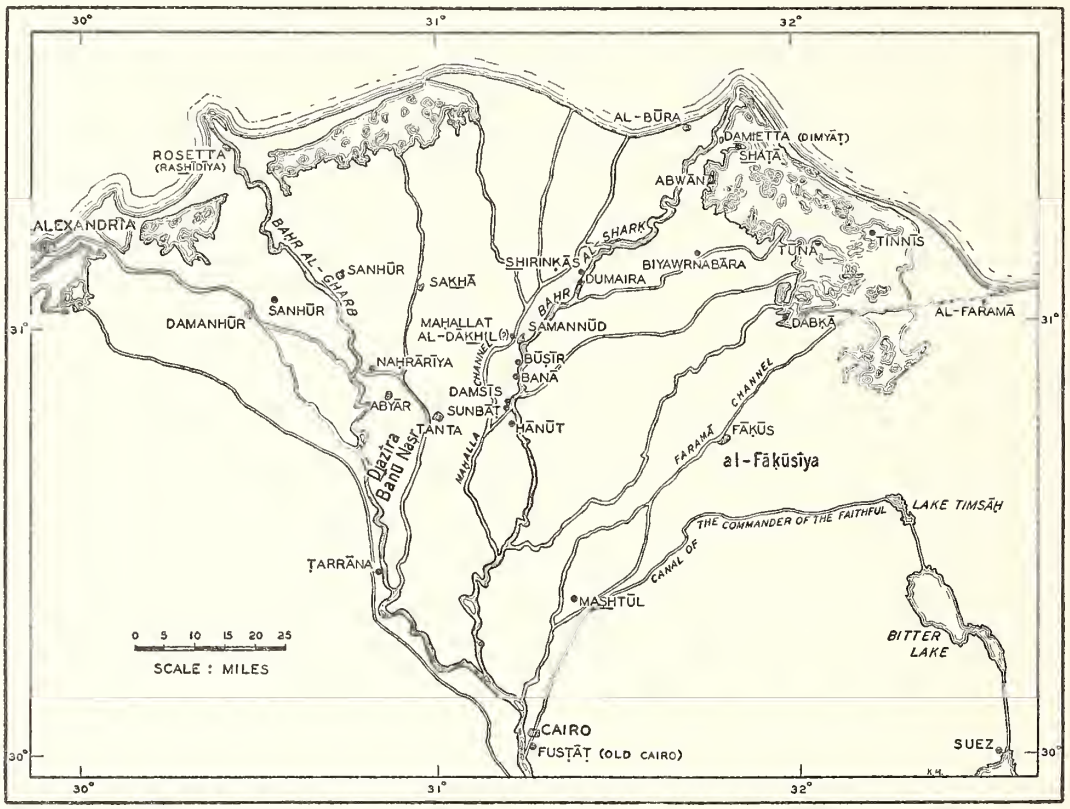
[98] Abu 'l-Fidā', *al Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* (Istanbul, 1286 H. [1869–70 A.D.]), IV, 101.

[99] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī (Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī), *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb,* trans. by G. le Strange, G.M.S. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 239.

[100] *The Arabian Nights,* trans. by E. W. Lane (New York, 1927), p. 620.

[101] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* trans. p. 465.

are isolated individuals." [102] Again, he stated that the sultan of Morocco gave as robes of honor "a piece of cloth (sabnīya), that is a packet (buḳdja) of a stuff with designs of animals embroidered in gold made at Alexandria, which they call zardkhāna." [103] Further, he said that in India "the garments of linen which are brought from Alexandria, and the countries of the Russians (Rūs) are worn exclusively by those whom the sultan (of Delhi) honors with them." [104]



Map 3.—The Delta of the Nile

Khazradjī recorded [105] that in 788 H. (1386 A.D.) presents came to the Rasūlid sultan of Yemen along with a party of the silk manufacturers ('ummāl al-ḥarīr) of Alexandria.

Descriptions of the costume of the Mameluke generals and ministers of state have been left by Maḳrīzī. Among the textiles he noted that the emirs wore a cap (kalawta) of red wool of Malaṭīya, a city in the Armenian group:

[102] 'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, trans. by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, I, *L'Afrique moins l'Égypte, Bibliothèque des géographes arabes* (Paris, 1927), II, 127.

[103] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

[104] 'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār, Notice de l'ouvrage . . . Mesalek alabsar fi memalek alamsar*, by E. M. Quatremère, *Acad. des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Notices et extraits.* XIII, 1 (Paris, 1838), 200. Cf. p. 270.

[105] al-Khazradjī, J. W. Redhouse, and Muhammad 'Asal, *El-Khazreji's History of the Resúli Dynasty of Yemen,* G.M.S. (London, 1906–13), III, trans., II, 164, text, II, 585. The following extract from Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah,* ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery

The troops of the emirs and others used to wear various kinds of kamkhā (a Chinese silk[106]), Khaṭā'ī (Chinese stuff), kandjī (a stuff of silk and cotton[107]), and a velvety material (mukhmal), Iskandarī, linen (sharb), naṣāfī (a stuff made in Baghdad), and colored wools. Then the wearing of silk was declared unlawful in the days of al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ (784–807 H. [1382–98 A.D.]). To this day, they are confined to the wearing of colored wool in winter, and the wearing of light (maṣḳūl, lit. polished) naṣāfī in summer.[108]

In the days of al-Nāṣir Muhammad ibn Ḳalāūn (*ca.* 679 H. [1280 A.D.]), the important emirs regularly received a robe of honor:

[Consisting of] a kind of cloth called ṭardwaḥsh[109] made in the ṭirāz factory which was in Alexandria, Mīṣr (Cairo) and Damascus. It was embroidered with bands (mudjawwakha djākhāt) which were inscribed with the titles of the sultan. It had bands (djākhāt) of tarḍwaḥsh, and bands of different colors intermingled with gold-spangled linen (ḳaṣab mudhahhab), these bands being separated by embroideries in color (nuḳūsh), and a ṭirāz border. This was made of ḳaṣab, but sometimes an important personage (among the officials) would have a ṭirāz border embroidered with gold (muzarkasha bi-dhahab) with a squirrel (sindjāb), and beaver (ḳundus) fur upon it, as mentioned above. Under the cloak (ḳabā') of ṭardwaḥsh, there was a cloak of muḳtariḥ, with hoods (ṭarḥa) of Alexandrine stuff, and a headdress (kalawta) of gold-embroidery (zarkash), with spurs, a turban (shāsh) as mentioned, and a waist-belt (ḥiyāṣa) of gold, sometimes with plaques (baikārīya) and sometimes without them.

Various kinds of stuffs embroidered with all kinds of animals are described under the section on the Fatimids. Perhaps, too, the *Thousand and One Nights* is describing a piece of ṭardwaḥsh in the following passage:

He then unfolded the piece of linen, and lo, in it was the figure of a gazelle worked with silk and embroidered with red gold, and facing it was the figure of another gazelle worked with silver, and having upon its neck a ring of red gold, and three beads of silver.[110]

In the year 696 H. (1279 A.D.), Sultan al-Malik Manṣūr al-Dīn Manṣūrī forbade his subjects to wear headdresses (kalawta) of gold brocade, embroideries (ṭuruz) of the same stuff, and robes (ḳabā') of great price. This was an economy because of a famine in the land.[111]

Even later, the ṭirāz factory was in existence, for Baibars II gave a present, containing cloth of Sikandarī, manufactured in this place,[112] and Sultan Ḳā'it Bey (873–902 H. [1468–95 A.D.]) gave away a gift containing fifty-one garments (tafāṣīl) of Alexandria, and ten pieces of muslin of Mashtūl (shāshāt Mashtūlī).[113] This must have been contemporary with the Jewish

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and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), II, 181, is of some interest in connection with the above: "It is at Maḳdashaw (Mogadischio in Italian Somaliland) that they make the stuffs which are called after this town, and which are quite unequalled. From Maḳdashaw they export them to Egypt and elsewhere." Again, talking of the officers of the sultan of that city, he said (*ibid.*, II, 186): "Their clothing consists of silken cloths (fūṭat al-khazz) tied round the waist, instead of trousers which they do not know, and a tunic of Egyptian linen (durrā'a min al-maḳṭū' al-Miṣrī mu'lama) with a border, and a loose robe (fardjīya) of Ḳudsī (Jerusalem stuff?), and an Egyptian (Miṣrī) turban with a border ('imāma mu'lama)."

[106] Cf. Chapter II (II), n. 81.

[107] See Dozy, *op. cit.*, II, 492.

[108] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 217.

[109] *Ibid.*, p. 227. This author has other valuable notes on costume which, however, do not concern us here. Byzantine satin was a common article of apparel among the great. Ṭardwaḥsh is a stuff embroidered with animals.

[110] *The Arabian Nights*, p. 236.

[111] Maḳrīzī, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l' Égypte*, trans. by M. Quatremère (Paris, 1837–42), II, II, 51.

[112] Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍā'il, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks*, trans. by E. Blochet, *Patrologia orientalis* (Paris, 1919–28), XII, 453.

[113] "Relation d'un voyage du Sultan Qâ'it Bây en Palestine, "trans. by R. L. Devonshire, *Bull. de l'inst. franç. d' archéol. orientale du Caire*, XX (1921), 25.

traveler Ben Rabbi Menahem (1481 A.D.),[114] who found that "the flax of Alexandria is very good, and their linen garments fine and cheap." [115]

CAIRO

Maḳrīzī described the Khaṭṭ Dār al-Dībādj in Cairo:

It was in olden times known as the Street of the House of Brocade, because the mansion of the vizier Ya'ḳūb ibn Killis, which, today, includes the Ṣāḥibīya School, the Darb al-Ḥarīrī (Street of the Silk Worker), and the Saifīya School, was made into an institution where brocade, and silk (ḥarīr) were woven for the requirements of the Fatimid caliphs, and which became known as Dār al-Dībādj. The street was so-called until the vizier Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abdallah ibn Ali ibn Shukr dwelt there in the days of al-'Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb (the latter half of the twelfth century), and it became known as Khaṭṭ Suwaiḳat al-Ṣāḥib.[116]

Again,[117] the house of the vizier Ibn Killis was known in Fatimid times as "Dār al-Dībādj (i.e., dār al-ṭirāz), because brocade (dībādj) which is silk was woven there." Ali Bahgat Bey, drawing from Maḳrīzī, said:

The palace of the vizier Ya'ḳūb ibn Killis at Cairo was transformed by the vizier al-Afḍal into workshops where stuffs of brocade and silk were manufactured. The direction of these workshops was always entrusted to persons of rank in the kingdom.[118]

The same source gives an account of the expenditure on the ṭirāz factories [119] by the Fatimids, but it is not detailed enough to be of interest here—only tailors and menders (raffā') are specified among the textile workers, though judging by the list of artisans mentioned in the ṭirāz factory of Baghdad, there must have been many more.

The following account of the ṭirāz organization is given by Ibn Mammātī:

The ṭirāz. This service (mu'āmala) has an inspector (nāẓir), an overseer (mushārif), a controller (mutawallī), and two accountants, (shāhid). Now if any sort of article is required to be manufactured, a list is made out by the Dīwān al-Khizāna ("Office of the Wardrobe"), and sent to them along with the required (or computed) money, and gold thread (dhahab maghzūl) for their expenses. When the chests (safaṭ) are brought back, they are compared with the chits which went with them, and checked. If the value comes to more than has been spent on it, the excellent nature of the workmen is inferred from that, but they derive no benefit from it at all—that is to say the surplus. If the value is less than the expenditure, the extent of the deficiency is elucidated and the requisition is made from the Dīwān, and the employees are required to pay it. The employees take the responsibility of payment on themselves, and extract it from the gold embroiderers (raḳḳām). A series of happenings of this kind in what they bring, indicates the dishonesty of their characters.[120]

Maḳrīzī stated that a palace known as Manẓara al-Ghazzāla was used by the ṭirāz factories:

In the days of al-Afḍal (the end of the fifth century H.) the usual (sum spent on it) comprised thirty-one thousand dinars, and there were fifteen thousand dinars of that sum in particular spent on Iraq gold; the sum spent on Egyptian (Miṣrī) gold was sixteen thousand dinars. In the days of Ma'mūn it comprised forty-three

[114] E. N. Adler, Jewish Travellers (London, 1930), p. 160.

[115] The examination of the Mameluke ṭirāz system is beyond the scope of this work, but there are many other references to it in Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* and also in P. Ravaisse, *Zoubdat Kachf al-Mamâlik . . . par Khalîl eḍ-Ḍâhiry* (Paris, 1894), p. 108 ff., and 'Umarī, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

[116] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 32.

[117] *Ibid.*, II, 104.

[118] Ali Bahgat Bey, "Manufactures d'étoffe en Égypte au Moyen Âge," *Bull. Instit. Égypte*, III-IV, (1902–3), 357. This is a good article but, unfortunately, lacks appropriate references to the text of Maḳrīzī by which one may refer to the original.

[119] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 397–400.

[120] Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al-Dawānīn* (Cairo, 1318 H. [1900–1901 A.D.]), pp. 24–25. Read on p. 25, 1, 16 "istadalla" for "istabdala."

thousand dinars, and double that in the time of al-Āmir.[121]

On the authority of Ibn Ṭuwair, he said that the chief of the ṭirāz was always a notable of some kind:

When he arrives with the royal requisitions (al-īsti-'mālāt al-khāṣṣa) which include the umbrella (miẓalla), the badla (a kind of garment), the badana (a garment especially for the caliph) and the royal apparel for the Friday prayer (al-libās al-khāṣṣ al-Djuma'ī), etc., he is greeted with great honor, and a beast assigned to him from the caliph's stables, which remains at his service until he returns to his charge. He stays at al-Ghazzāla on the bank of the river. It used to be one of the royal belvederes, and Shu'ā' ibn Shawār renovated it. If the manager of the ṭirāz factories (ṣāḥib al-ṭirāz) had ten houses in Cairo, still he would only be allowed to stay in al-Ghazzāla. Hospitality is dispensed to him as to strangers arriving (as ambassador) to the state. He comes before the caliph after bringing the chests (safaṭ) which enclose those precious robes. All he has is displayed while he draws attention to one thing after another in the hands of the royal farrashes in the palace of the caliph, wherever the monarch happens to be in residence. Great honor is shown to this personage, especially when the materials ordered suit the requirements. When this is completed, it is compared with the account which he has with him, and they are delivered to the master of the robes, and he is invested publicly before the caliph, nobody else apart from him being invested in this fashion. After this he returns to his own place. Sometimes, when he is not able to come away he sends a lieutenant, somebody related to him, who must be no less than a son or a brother of his, for the office is highly important. The sum assigned to him each month is seventy dinars. The lieutenant is assigned twenty dinars because he takes over his charge when the manager of the ṭirāz comes (to court) in person and takes his place when he is absent at his work.

According to Maḳrīzī:

When Sultan al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb gained the mastery over the kingdom of Egypt (565H. [1169 A.D.]) he caused the custom tax of Miṣr and Cairo to be abolished, and the Cadi al-Fāḍil drew up a tariff for him on this subject. The annual sum (produced by those taxes) rose to 100,000 dinars.[122]

The following are the particulars relevant to the textile manufactures of Cairo:

The levy of al-Ṣanā'a for the payment of the customs established on cloth, copper, tin, coral, and precious objects which come there	5,193 dinars
Tax on the warehouse of cotton (Funduḳ al-Ḳuṭn)	67 dinars
Tax on flax and cotton arriving at al-Ṣanā'a [123]	100 dinars
Tax collected at Faiyum on flax coming there from the south, and merchandise which goes out	4,160 dinars
Tax on ornaments (ḥulā) coming from the north, and cotton	1,020 dinars
Stamp (khātam) on sharb linen and Dabīḳī	1,500 dinars
Tax on wool	250 dinars
Taxes on the linen warehouse (Dār al-Kattān)	60 dinars
Brokerage on linen	300 dinars
The Ṭabarī factory (ma'mal al-Ṭabarī)	240 dinars
Tax on cloth called khāmat al-Shāshiyīn [124]	33 dinars
Tax on goat hair (sha'r) and circles of wood (ṭārāt)	4 dinars
Tax on dye (ṣibgh) and silk (ḥarīr)	334 dinars

Ibn Duḳmāḳ [125] in his description of the topography of Cairo, gave some scattered notes on the streets where cloth was sold. In 378 H. (988 A.D.) the transfer of the silk market (ḥarīr) and the wax market was made to the Ḳaiṣarīya of Abū Murra. Again, he mentioned the Ḳaiṣarīya of Waraṭha al-Ẓāhir, which was well known for the sale of Syrian (Sha'mī, or Damascus) cloth (ḳumāsh).[126] Maḳrīzī stated that

[121] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 469.

[122] Maḳrīzī, *Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte*, p. 298. ff. Cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 104. ff.

[123] Reading al-kattān wa'l-'uṭb.

[124] Probably a quarter of Cairo where turbans (shāsh) were made.

[125] Ibn Duḳmāḳ, ed. by C. Vollers, *Description de l'Égypte* (Cairo, 1893), I, 39.

[126] *Ibid.*, I, 38. Cf. I, 37, 38, 49. The pointing of the names is uncertain.

the Sūḳ al-Khila'īyīn ("Market of the Sellers of Robes of Honor") "is one of the most frequented markets in Cairo because of the amount of clothing sold to the royal family and others. The greater part of that which is sold there consists of tailored garments (al-thiyāb al-mukhaiyaṭa)." [127] Probably, Maḳrīzī referred here to his own time (766–845 H. [1364–1442 A.D.]).

The Mamelukes adopted Abbasid prerogatives very soon after the accession of Baibars, who, according to al-Ḥasan al-Fa'sī al-Makkī al-Malikī,[128] was the first to send a covering (kiswa) to Mecca after the Abbasids, some time after the year 660 H. (1262 A.D.):

> The kings of Egypt controlled this, except that the covering of the Kaaba was made in Ghulla, a village outside Cairo, which al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Isma'īl ibn al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muhammad ibn Ḳalāūn, the ruler of Egypt made a mortmain (waḳf) for the covering of the Kaaba each year. . . . The name of the sultan of Egypt was inscribed on the Kaaba-covering. Thus, the power of Baibars spread into the Hejaz.[129]

Ḳalḳashandī (*ob.* 821 H. [1418 A.D.]) said that "this covering is woven at the capital Cairo at Mashhad al-Ḥusain, of black silk (ḥarīr) embroidered (muṭarraz) with a white inscription, in the weave itself (fī nafs al-nasadj)." [130] He added that sometimes the kings of Yemen send it.

A certain Muhammad ibn Makkī . . . al-Raḳḳām al-Dimashḳī (614–99 H. [1217–99 A.D.]) is mentioned by Maḳrīzī, who mentioned that he was a raḳḳām (embroiderer) in the ṭirāz factory in Cairo, but no other information is forthcoming about him.[131] The same writer noted that most of the districts of Cairo are sown with flax.[132]

Part III

THE DELTA AND THE FAIYUM

Short notices on the various flax-producing towns or large villages in the Delta remain scattered throughout the geographers, but the following list, is at best, fragmentary. Nearly every place in the Delta would produce flax.

Ḥānūt. Idrīsī said: "At Ḥānūt they cultivate much flax. It grows well here and forms the principal mainstay of the inhabitants."[133]

Sunbāṭ. Benjamin of Tudela said: "The inhabitants sow flax and weave linen which they export to all parts of the world." [134] Idrīsī said: "At Sunbāṭ, they cultivate flax." [135]

Damsīs. Idrīsī wrote: "Damsīs has a fair every Saturday in which every kind of fine cloth and goods are bought and sold, and merchants go to it." [136]

Again Ibn Zawlāḳ (before 387 H. [997 A.D.]) noted: "In it (Egypt) are the towns of Maḥalla, Banā, Būṣīr, and Samannūd, and the linen in them which is carried to the countries of Islam, and the unbelievers and the utmost limits of the world." [137]

These towns were probably drawn upon for their flax by the important cities of the Tinnīs–Damietta group. Another group of cities, concerning which there is information, lies more to the West.

Ṣakhā. Ibn Ḥawḳal [138] said that it has much

[127] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* II, 104.

[128] *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld, (Leipzig, 1857–61), II, 269, f.

[129] See Appendix II for the covering of the Kaaba.

[130] Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* (Cairo, 1331–18 H. [1913–19 A.D.]), IV, 57.

[131] Maḳrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muḳaffā,* extract in M. Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula* (Leipzig, 1857), p. 668.

[132] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* II, 129. The very informative material on the Mameluke period has barely been mentioned here. See *ibid.,* II, 113, etc.

[133] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* text, p. 153.

[134] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela,* trans., p. 77.

[135] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* text, p. 153.

[136] *Ibid.*

[137] Ibn Zawlāḳ, extract in Youssouf Kamal, *Monumenta cartographica Aegypti et Africae* (Leyden, 1930–34), III, II, 685.

[138] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.,* p. 138. The interchange of ṣād and sīn is unusual in Arabic, but it does occur.

flax. This must be the same city as Sakhā. Sanhūr, too, he said, has linen.

Damanhūr. Abu 'l-Fidā' recorded: "Damanhūr cloth is named after it." [139]

Abyār is only mentioned by later authors. Ibn Baṭūṭa said:

> In Abyār, very beautiful garments (thiyāb) of high price in Syria, Iraq, Miṣr (Egypt), and elsewhere are manufactured. It is a strange thing that it is near Naḥrārīya, but the garments which are made there are not considered of much consequence nor esteemed by its inhabitants.[140]

Wüstenfeld [141] noted from Ḳalḳashandī that in the Djazīra of the Banū Naṣr, between Abyār and the western arm of the Nile, there were costly stuffs of the kind called mukhaiyarāt made. Ibn Iyās stated:

> Abyār is a town in the neighborhood of Alexandria and there was a mine of natron there, and everything that fell into it became natron. . . . After it are called the Abyāri "ẓuhūr," which are made of silk (ḥarīr) and linen, the best of manufactures.[142]

THE FAIYUM

This district was famous for its textiles before the Muslim invasion, and the manufactures continued in Islamic times without a break. Much information on the factories of the Faiyum is available. In the historical romance, entitled *Futūḥ al-Bahnasā* ("Conquest of Bahnasā"), we catch many glimpses of the fine stuffs worn by the Coptic leaders when they went forth to meet the Arabs, rich silken materials with gold embroideries.

The romance mentions a material very like ṭardwaḥsh, a tent upholstered with silk (ḥarīr) of various colors, blue, red, green, and black, embroidered (muḳaṣṣab ?) with gold and silver thread, ornamented with pearls, both sides of which, inside and out, had figures (taṣwīr) of birds and wild animals, as well as other drawings They spread a carpet (bisāṭ) of many-colored silk and furnished it with cushions (wasīda), couches (misnad), and mats. The tent cords were made of silk of various colors, and adjusted by pegs of ivory and ebony by means of gold and silver guys.[143]

Again, a patriarch is described as wearing brocade (dībādja) embroidered with gold (muḳaṣṣab).[144] It is also worthy of note that when the Arabs took the city of Ahnās, their plunder contained many gold and silver vessels and splendid stuffs (fursh fākhira).[145] All these stuffs seem similar to the textiles which were woven in this district at later times.

Ya'ḳūbī reported:

> In Faiyum (town) coarse cloth (khaish) is made. The town of Ḳais is there, where the Ḳaisī garments and the excellent robes are made, also the town of Bahnasā (Oxyrynchus) where the Bahnasā curtains (sutūr) are made, and the town of Ahnās where the robes are made.[146]

Mas'ūdī [147] noted the ṭirāz factories of Bahnasā, as did al-Kindī.[148] Ibn Ḥawḳal, however, is the

[139] Abu 'l-Fidā', *Géographie d'Aboulféda,* trans. by M. Reinaud (Paris, 1847–83), I, 145.

[140] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *op. cit.,* I, 54.

[141] F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geographie und Verwaltung von Ägypten* (Göttingen, 1879). For the word mukhaiyarāt, see the glossary to Idrīsī, *op. cit.*

[142] Ibn Iyās, L. Langlès, "Cosmographie . . . par . . . Mohammed . . . ben Ayâs (Nashḳ al-Azhār)," *Not. et extr. de la Bibl. Nat.,* VIII (Paris, 1810), 29–30.

[143] E. Galtier, "Foutouh al-Bahnasâ," *Mém. de l'instit. franç. d'archéol. orientale du Caire,* XXII (1909), 140, text (infra), p. 70. This is a French translation from a critical text which has never been published and which may vary considerably from the Cairo edition of the *Futūḥ al-Bahnasā* published in 1297 H. (1879–80 A.D.), to which the textual references in these notes refer.

[144] *Ibid.,* trans., p. 133, text, p. 66.

[145] *Ibid.,* trans., p. 116, text, p. 58.

[146] Ya'ḳūbī, *op. cit.,* VII, 331. Cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* p. 734.

[147] Mas'ūdī, *Kitâb at -Tanbîh wa l-Ischrâf,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1894), VIII, 22.

[148] Youssouf Kamal, *op. cit.,* p. 631.

best informed about the factories in this province:

In Faiyum there are large fine towns and well-known ṭirāz factories as well as great estates, belonging to the sultan and to the public ('āmma). In it are to be found wares, too famous to require repetition, such as Bahnasā, where curtains, brocade (istabraḳāt), awnings (or sails), tents (khaima), cloaks (ḥulla), hangings (or veils, sitāra), carpets (busuṭ), large tents (miḍrab), and great pavilions (fusṭāṭ) are made with wool, linen, and dyes that do not fade, and colors in which you can see figures, (ranging from) the gnat to the elephant. Those servants of the sultan, who worked in the ṭirāz factories were never in want of caliphs, people of distinction, or merchants from all ends of the earth to indulge their tastes therein, in the way of costly long curtains (sutūr), the length of a single one of which was thirty dhirā', more or less, and the price of a pair of which was about three hundred dinars.[149]

Maḳdisī merely remarked: "In Bahnasā are manufactured curtains (sutūr), mats (anmāṭ), and the valuable flax which is grown in Būṣīr." [150] Idrīsī said:

It is at Bahnasā that there were and still are ṭirāz factories where they weave for royal use (khāṣṣa), the precious curtains which are known as Bahnasī, the sultan's cloth (maḳāṭi'), the large tents, and the mutakhaiyar (chosen ?) cloth. In it are many ṭirāz factories belonging to the public ('āmma), where merchants evaluate the precious curtains, the length of one of which is thirty dhirā', more or less. No curtains, robes, or other cloths made of wool and cotton are made there without the names of the ṭirāz factories being placed upon them, whether it is the royal (khāṣṣ) ṭirāz, or the public ṭirāz factories, a prescribed custom which the preceding age established, and those workers who came after them followed, up to this present time of ours. These curtains, carpets (fursh) and robes are renowned throughout the earth.[151]

It is upon one of these passages that the account of Maḳrīzī seems to be founded:

It is there that they make the curtains known as Bahnasī, and where they weave the ṭirāz-embroidered stuffs, the royal cloths (al-maḳāṭi' al-sulṭānīya), the large tents (miḍrab), and the striped robes (muḥabbara). They make curtains here, a single one of which measured thirty dhirā', and a pair of which were worth two hundred mithḳāls of gold. When they make a curtain, robes, and garments of wool or cotton, they always inscribe the name of him who is to receive the object. It is a custom handed down from age to age.[152]

By the "preceding age" the authors may have referred to the Byzantine domination of Egypt. The Faiyum greatly declined during the Muslim period, and the revenues at the end of the Fatimid dynasty had sunk by nearly five-sixths. However, even Ibn Baṭūṭa, much later (756 H. [1355 A.D.]), still noted that "excellent woollen cloth is made at Bahnasā." [153]

"From Būṣīr Ḳūrīdus comes fine flax," according to Maḳdisī.[154] This was a town which lay at the entrance to the Faiyum.

Between Bahnasā and Cairo was the city of Būsh, of which the *Mushtarik* said: "To it are attributed the Būsh napkins (mandīl)." [155] Ibn Baṭūṭa [156] remarked that it was the largest flax-producing town in Egypt and that much linen was exported thence to all Egypt and Africa. Dilāṣ, also, had flax.

UPPER EGYPT

Many other towns of Upper Egypt had also important manufactories of cloth. Ibn Ḥawḳal said: "Ṭaḥā is a town, too, in which there is more than one ṭirāz factory." [157] Maḳdisī added: "Ṭaḥā is a village in Upper Egypt where woolen

[149] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[150] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

[151] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 50. Perhaps متخيم should be read for متخير, giving the sense of "tent-cloth."

[152] Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, p. 704. Cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 237.

[153] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, I, 96.

[154] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *op. cit.*, III, 203.

[155] Yāḳūt, *Jacut's Moshtarik, das ist Lexikon geographischer Homonyme*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846), p. 70.

[156] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, I. 95.

[157] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

cloth of very high quality is made." [158] Idrīsī remarked: "In Ṭaḥā and its ṭirāz factories, curtains (sutūr) and robes of wool are made, called after the locality." [159]

According to Iṣṭakhrī [160] much cloth was brought from Ashmunein. While Ibn Ḥawḳal noted that "linen is brought from it and many garments are despatched to Cairo (Miṣr) and elsewhere." [161] Idrīsī spoke of Ashmunein "in which and in its ṭirāz factories, they make curtains and carpets of wool which are called after the city." [162] Maḳrīzī, doubtless on earlier sources, reported that "they used to make upholstery dyed with ḳirmiz (fursh al-ḳirmiz) similar to the Armenian (Armanī)." [163] This last note is important, for it shows that in Egypt, too, the influence of this most important province was felt. The extraneous influences of the Coptic textiles, themselves of pre-Muslim times may have been those of Armenia, rather than those of south Persia.

Yāḳūt [164] mentioned a town Sanabū, west of the Nile, near Dairūt, in which are robes and horse cloths (kunbūsh) which cannot be surpassed.

The town of Asyut was a place where the Armenian type of manufacture was practiced, so this style cannot have been of rare occurrence in Egypt. The sheep-rearing in the locality made it a center of woolen textiles. Mas'ūdī [165] mentioned the factories (ṭirāz) of Asyut. Nāṣir-i-Khusraw gave more particulars:

> In this Asyut, they weave cloth (dastār) of sheep wool, which has no equal in the world, and fine wools which are taken to Persia and which they call Miṣrī, (Egyptian). All this is from Upper Egypt, for in Cairo itself they weave no wool. I myself have seen in Asyut a cloth (fūṭa) manufactured of sheep's wool, the like of which I have not seen in Lahāwar (Lahore), nor Multan, so that I thought it silk (ḥarīr) from the look of it.[166]

Yāḳūt said that Asyut had many Christians and seventy-five Christian churches: "Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm al-Miṣrī says: 'In it are looms (minsadj) of Armanī-stuff, and triple (muthallath) Dabīḳī.'" [167] Ḳazwīnī repeated that "there are many Christian churches . . . there are exported thence to the whole world, weaves (manāsidj) of Dabīḳī, and delightful cloth, the like of which is not to be found in the world." [168]

Akhmim was another well-known manufactory, though literary information about it is lacking. According to von Falke [169] there was a factory there in Byzantine times under Coptic control; he discussed this very fully. Ya'ḳūbī [170] wrote that "in it are made 'cut' carpets (al-farsh al-ḳuṭū')." [171] Mas'ūdī [172] mentioned its ṭirāz factories with those of Bahnasā and Asyut.

In the south of Egypt, Yāḳūt [173] stated that Ḳūṣ (which ultimately supplanted Aswan as the chief city in that region) was a station of traders coming from Aden. Of Aswan itself, Ibn Ḥawḳal said: "It has supplies of linen manufactured into pieces of cloth (shiḳḳa) and kerchiefs (mandīl) which are taken to the Hejaz and Cairo (Miṣr).[174]

158 Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

159 Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, page 53. Ṭaḥā with a variant Ṭakhā.

160 Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, I, 53.

161 Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

162 Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 46.

163 Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, trans., p. 710 and text, I, 239.

164 Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, III, 157.

165 Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 22.

166 Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, *op. cit.*, II, I, text, p. 61, trans., p. 173.

167 Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 272.

168 Ḳazwīnī, *el-Cazwini's Kosmographie*, II, 99. Possibly Yāḳūt should be corrected from Ḳazwīnī.

169 von Falke, *Decorative Silks*, p. 7.

170 Ya'ḳūbī, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

171 Read perhaps "maḳṭū".

172 Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

173 Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 201.

174 Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

Part IV

THE FATIMIDS

A great deal of miscellaneous and confused material is available on the ṭirāz factories which supplied the Fatimid dynasty. Besides information detailed elsewhere, some material which seems to relate to the dynasty will be given in this section.

The first Fatimid to have the name of his vizier placed upon the ṭirāz inscriptions was Caliph al-'Azīz billāh, in the middle of the fourth century H.[175] Most of the notices relate to Caliph al-Mustanṣir, who was forced, for various reasons, to disperse the property of his ancestors. Taghrībirdī [176] throws rather a curious sidelight on the Fatimids. Owing to the great famine in Mustanṣir's reign, he was even obliged to sell the garments which had been in al-Ḳaṣr from the time of the Abbasid Caliph al-Ṭā'i', when Bahā' al-Dawla (of Shia persuasion) plundered the Dār al-Khilāfa (in Baghdad) in the year 381 H. (991 A.D.), that is to say he deposed al-Ṭā'i'. The caliphs of Egypt used to keep those garments because they hated the Abbasids, so as to disgrace them.

The Fatimids not only imported many different kinds of textiles from Persia, Iraq, Spain, and Byzantium, but the workmen also, or at least the latter were attracted to their opulent court, for Maḳrīzī [177] mentioned a certain Abū Sahl al-Tustarī (from Tustar or Shustar), who made a boat for Mustanṣir's mother, which was called "The Silvery," and again, Sicilian carpenters manufactured barques for the Fatimids, which, like the Baghdad rivercraft of a similar type, were upholstered with Dabīḳī cloth and had colored Dabīḳī awnings (sutūr Dabīḳīya mulawwana). Further, it seems likely that some, at least, of the foreign weaves mentioned in the palace treasuries were made in the state looms of Egypt.

According to the same author it was the Dīwān al-Madjlis which was responsible for "the expenses of the dār al-ṭirāz for the royal (khāṣṣ) manufactures required, which amounted to ten thousand dinars yearly." [178]

The Manẓara al-Ghazzāla has already been discussed under the history of Cairo, but there were many other institutions connected with the ṭirāz in that city, namely the "Stores of Upholstery and Furnishings" and the "Tent Store." For the descriptions of these places, Maḳrīzī drew on the *Kitāb al-Dhakhā'ir* ("Book of Treasures" or "Stores"), possibly written by Mudjallā ibn Djamī' (*fl.* 549 H. [1154 A.D.]).[179] It is better, however, first to consult Maḳrīzī on the "Wardrobe of Robes" (Khizāna al-Kisawāt):

> Ibn Abī Ṭaiy said: "He (meaning al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh 342–65 H. [953–75 A.D.]), founded an institution (dār), and called it Dār al-Kiswa, wherein all kinds of garments and cloth used to be cut. According to their various ranks, he used to invest the people with the summer and winter clothing (kiswa); their wives and children receiving the same. He made that a prescribed custom which they inherited in aftertimes from one another. He made out a register for this purpose and called the place Khizānat al-Kiswa." Mentioning the decline of the dynasty, he says: "Another interesting item of historical information about them is that, from the Khazā'in al-Kiswa, they used to bring forth to all their servants, retainers, and dependents, both great and small, high and low, robes for summer and winter, from the turban to the trousers, and other clothing of less importance, and the napkins (mindīl) of splendid cloth and precious stuffs for apparel. . . . I have heard a certain person say that he was present at the "Investiture" at al-Ḳaṣr which used to take place in summer and winter, the value (of the stuffs given away) then being more than six hundred

[175] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, II, 284.

[176] Ibn Taghrībirdī, "Abu 'l-Maḥāsin ibn Taghrībirdī's *Annals, al-Nudjūm al-Ẓāhira*," ed. W. Popper, *Univ. Calif. Publ. Semitic Philol.*, II (1909), 181. Cf. E. Wallis Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

[177] Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, 473, 475, 478.

[178] *Ibid.*, I, 398.

[179] See A. R. Guest, "A List of Writers, Books, and Other Authorities Mentioned by El-Maqrīzī in His Khiṭaṭ," *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, XXXIV (1902), 103–26.

thousand dinars. The emirs used to be invested with garments of Dabīḳī, and turbans with gold ṭirāz borders, these two items being worth five hundred dinars. The greatest emirs were invested with necklaces (ṭawḳ), bracelets (siwār), and ornamented swords. . . . In 516 H. (1122 A.D.) the various articles upon which money was spent, came to 14,305 pieces. The largest sum of money ever expended on such a thing as that in the days of al-Afḍal (*ca.* 500 H.) throughout the whole of his administration, in the year 513 H. (1119 A.D.) was 8,775 pieces.[180]

Many more details of the garments distributed, and their value follow, too profuse to include here, but it is noteworthy that the types of stuffs included Damietta, Alexandrine, and Sūs cloth. This latter city may either be the Sūs in Africa or the city of Persia, both of which had a ṭirāz; the African Sūs is, however, probably intended, because an Abbasid inscribed textile could hardly be presented as a gift by their mortal enemies the Fatimids. This institution might be compared to the wardrobes of the Abbasid caliphs which it probably imitated.

A list of the perquisites appertaining to the office of controller of the Dīwān al-Madjlis in the year 517 H. (1123–24 A.D.) is given by Maḳrīzī, and includes:

On the four festivals, four dishes (ṣīnīya) of meats for the Breaking of the Fast (Fiṭra), and a winter investiture (kiswat al-Shitā') consisting of, for his own person, a napkin (mandīl) of silk, a piece (shiḳḳa) of Dabīḳī of silk, a piece of brocade, a cloak (ridā') of satin (aṭlas), a piece of brocade from the ṭirāz factory (shiḳḳa dībādj Dārī), two pieces of siḳlātūn one of them Alexandrine, two pieces of 'Attābī, two pieces of Maghribī khazz silk, two pieces of Iskandarī (Alexandrine cloth), and two of Dimyāṭī, a piece of striped gilded stuff and a cloth (fūṭa) of royal stuff (?khāṣṣ). For his children, he received a piece of scarlet from the ṭirāz factory (siḳlāṭūn Dārī), a piece of 'Attābī from the same factory (Dārī), a piece of Maghribī khazz silk, two pieces of Dimyāṭī, two of Iskandarī, one of gilded stuff,[181] and a cloth (fūṭa). For those of his household he received two napkins for sleeves (?), one of which came from the royal wardrobe, cloaks (ridā') of Dabīḳī, a piece of 'Attābī, and one of Sūs material, a piece of Dimyāṭī, two pieces of Iskandarī, and a cloth (fūṭa). For himself also, at the Breaking of the Fast, two bowls (ṭaifūr) of meats for the Breaking of the Fast, a hundred jars of būrī fish, and a complete suit of gold-embroidered clothes, and a suit of silk clothes for his children. For the people of his household he received a gold-embroidered cloak (ḥulla mudhahhaba).

The Feast of the Sacrifice was the same as the Feast of the Breaking of the Fast, with the addition of a gift of ten dinars, and sheep were sent to him that were not in his name. At the Festival of the Opening of the Dam (at the inundation of the Nile), forty dinars, a dish (ṣīnīya) of food (fiṭra), a royal bowl (ṭaifūr khāṣṣ) from al-Ḳaṣr, a roasted lamb, and a cup (djām) of sweetmeats. For his children he received five dinars, and for himself, at Nawrūz, thirty dinars, a piece of Dabīḳī of silk, a piece of red silk (lādh), a silken veil (mi'djar), and a silk napkin for sleeves (?), and a cloth (fūṭa).[182]

The following is the description of the "Stores of Upholstery and Furnishings" (Khazā' in al-Farsh wa 'l-Amti'a):

A trustworthy person related to me on the authority of Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Anmāṭī, saying: "We registered all the Khusrawānī (kingly cloth) brought forth from the treasuries of al-Ḳaṣr, which came to more than fifty thousand pieces, most of it embroidered with gold (mudhahhab)." I questioned Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz further, and he said: "From the treasuries more than a hundred thousand pieces were brought forth, the price of which was written down by my own hands and in my presence. A divan (martaba) made of red Khusrawānī cloth sold for three thousand five hundred dinars, was brought forth, one of ḳalamūnī cloth, sold for two thousand four hundred dinars, and three of sundus (a green brocaded stuff) each one of which was sold for over thirty dinars, besides twenty thousand pieces of Khusrawānī stuff along with their fringes, not one of which was cut. The price of the materials sold at the lowest and highest prices during the space of fifteen days in Ṣafar of 460 H. (1067 A.D.), quite apart from what was plundered or stolen, came to thirty million dinars, the whole of which was taken by the army and the Turks, not one taking a single dirham to which he was entitled."

[180] Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, 409. ff.

[181] Reading طلى مريش for طلى مرش. Cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, I, 574–75, quoting Idrīsī and Bakrī.

[182] Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, 400.

The emir Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ali ibn al-Ḥasan, one of the chiefs of the tentmakers in al-Ḳaṣr told me that the farrashes (porters) entered one of the stores of upholstery, when al-Māraḳī's demands of money from al-Mustanṣir were very pressing, namely, the Khizānat al-Rufūf ("shelves"), so named on the account of the quantity of shelves (raff) in it. Each shelf had a separate ladder, and they brought down two thousand packages, consisting of pieces of gold brocade (ṭamīm) of all kinds of Khusrawānī material, etc., with their fringes, which had never been used. All of them were embroidered in gold (mudhahhab), worked with all kinds of figures (ashkāl) and images (ṣūra). They opened a bundle and found that it contained saddlecloths (djull), made for elephants of red gold-embroidered Khusrawānī stuff, of the very best kind of manufacture. The place where the thighs and legs of the elephants were, was plain (sādhidj) without any gold. Three thousand pieces of red Khusrawānī, embroidered (muṭarraz) in white on their fringes were brought forth, along with the trappings of howdahs (literally "tents") with all their appurtenances and cloths (maḳāṭi'). Every howdah was complete with its cushions (misnad), pillows (mikhadda), leather pillows (miswar), divans (martaba), carpets (busuṭ), seats ('ataba), cloths (maḳāṭi'), curtains (sitr), everything required being there."

He further said: "From the Khazā'in al-Farsh, there were brought forth entire tents (bait), furnishings (farsh) of Ḳalamūnī, Dabīḳī of a velvet pile (mukhmal), in all its colors and kinds, the abundance of which it is impossible to estimate, nor can the extent of its value be known, reed mats (ḥuṣur), and strips (nakhkh) of Sāmān, with a ṭirāz border of gold and silver, and those without a ṭirāz border, of the embroidered (mukharram) kind, and a great number of birds and elephants depicted with all kinds of pictures. One of the Turks asked for a piece of striped linen stuff (miḳrama), that is to say, a curtain (sitāra) of green gold-embroidered sundus material, so a package of it was brought out, upon which was written "188 of the total number of packages containing cloth (matā')." (Packages) to the number of two hundred were found, composed of silk curtains woven with gold, of different colors and lengths, nearly a thousand (in all). Upon those were the pictures of dynasties and their kings, and notables, his name, the length of his life, and an account of each one being written upon each. Four thousand bales (rizma) of gold-embroidered Khusrawānī were brought forth from the upholstery stores, in each of which were the furnishings (farsh) for an audience chamber (madjlis), with its large carpets (busuṭ) and appurtenances, and other articles woven (mansūdj) with one thread, remaining just as they were without ever having been touched.

Fakhr al-'Arab received a piece of blue Tustarī Ḳurḳūbī silk (maḳṭa' ḥarīr azraḳ) of strange workmanship, woven with gold and other colors of silk, which was made to the order of al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh in the year 353 H. (964 A.D.) with all the regions (iḳlīm) of the world depicted therein, with their mountains, seas, towns, rivers, and roads like geography (djughrāfiyā). There was a picture of Mecca and Medina set forth for the spectators, with the name written on every town, mountain, river, country, sea, road, in gold, silver, or silk. On the back of it there was: "That which al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh ordered to be manufactured out of love for the Sacred Territory of God (Ḥaram Allāh), and so as to show the places (known to) the prophet of God. In the year 353 H. (964 A.D.). The expenditure on it was 22,000 dinars." [183]

Tādj al-Mulūk received a tent of red Armanī (Armenian material) woven (mansūdj) with gold which was made for al-Mutawakkil (the Abbasid) without any peer or price, as well as a Khusrawānī carpet for which a thousand dinars were paid and which it was impossible to sell.

Ibn Ṭuwair said:

The upholstery store is near the Bāb al-Malik. The caliph goes to it without sitting down there, but walks around, asks for information about the state of affairs there, and orders the work to be carried on. One of its rights was the manufacture of Sāmān ("reed mats") in places elsewhere in Cairo and Miṣr. Its employees are given fifteen dinars, that is to say, on the day when the caliph goes to visit it.

Again, on the authority of the *Kitāb al-Dhakhā'ir,* Maḳrīzī [184] gave an account of the "Stores of Tents":

Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ali ibn Ahmed ibn Mudabbir, the vizier of Nāṣir al-Dawla said: "Among the articles brought forth from the treasuries of al-Ḳaṣr, was a count-

[183] *Ibid.,* I, 416. It is uncertain whether the indication of the price is part of the inscription, but how else could the farrāsh know it? Perhaps one may assume that a ticket was attached to each piece.

[184] *Ibid.,* I, 418. ff.

less number of packages containing tents (khaima), large tents (miḍrab), tents with two poles (fāza), flat-roofed tents (musaṭṭaḥ), military tents (? djarkawāt), fortress tents, and castle tents, tents with one side only, pavilions and marquees (fusṭāṭ) manufactured of Dabīḳī and velvet stuffs,[185] Khusrawānī stuffs, royal brocade (dībādj malikī), Armenian stuff, cloth from Bahnasā and Karduwān (in Persia), and the best kind of Ḥalabī (stuff manufactured at Aleppo), etc., of various colors and kinds, as well as of sundus brocade and ṭamīm (gold-brocaded stuff) embroidered with designs of elephants, wild beasts, horses, peacocks, birds, and other kinds of wild animals, birds [186] and human beings (Ādamīyūn) of all manner of striking and wonderful forms and shapes. Among them were the plain (sādhidj) kind, and that which is embroidered outside with wonderful pictures (nakṣh), with all their appurtenances, consisting of poles covered with plating of silver, and cloth of gold, and cloth without gold of all kinds and colors, and dishes (ṣufrīya) of silver, according to their size, ropes covered with cotton and silk, and all the other appurtenances and articles required, the whole being lined (mubaṭṭan) with gold Dabīḳī brocade (al-Dabīḳī al-ṭamīm al-mudhahhab), and gold Khusrawānī, and Chinese silk cloth and Tustarī cloth, and . . . [187] and goat wool (sha'rī) cloth, and striped cloth (muraiyash), and all kinds of silk of all colors and varieties.

A little further on, he described a tent:

There was depicted on the wall (rafraf) of it, the picture of every beast in the world, and every delightful piece of interlacing work ('iḳd malīḥ), and every pleasing shape. There was a ventilator of the length of thirty dhirā' on the top of it which Abu Muhammad al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Yāzūrī had ordered to be made in the days of his vizierate. The artificers to the number of one hundred and fifty were employed in its manufacture over a period of nine years, and its cost came to thirty thousand dinars. Its manufacture was in the style of al-Ḳātūl which al-'Azīz billāh had ordered to be made in the days when he was caliph.[188] [He said to me:] We brought forth a flat-roofed tent (musaṭṭaḥ), made for al-Ẓāhir in Tinnīs of gold on gold of ṭamīm (gold brocade) . . . and another large one of gold-embroidered Dabīḳī, with walls (dawā'ir) of Karduwānī (from Karduwān in Persia) with pretty decoration (naḳsh).

Part V

THE SYRIAN BORDER

The Traditions frequently mention a stuff called Ḳassī. The material seems to have been in use in the early days of Islam, and there are several descriptions of it. Bukhārī said:

Concerning the wearing of the garment Ḳassī, 'Āṣim says that Abū Burda said: "When I asked Ali what one called Ḳassī, he replied to me: 'They are garments which came to us from Syria and Egypt. They were striped (muḍalla') and contained silk (ḥarīr); there are some which are like oranges (in texture or color ?) or like the skins of animals (mīthara). Women make them for the use of their husbands of a stuff similar to velvet (ḳaṭīfa) and dye them yellow.' " [189]

Djarīr in the traditions which he cited on the authority of Yazīd, said: "The Ḳassī is a striped garment which comes from Egypt, and contains silk. Mīthara are the skins of animals."

Another place mentions that saddle cushions, the wearing of stuffs called Ḳassī, garments of silk brocade (dībādj), and satin (istabraḳ) are

[185] Perhaps Dabīḳī mukhmal should be read for Dabīḳī wa-mukhmal.

[186] These seem to have been cloths with patterns (perhaps repeat-patterns) of a single animal. The Arabic words are "Mufaiyal, musabba', mukhaiyal, muṭawwis, muṭaiyar," all of which seem to be formed on similar lines to the stuffs called "Mudannar, mufallas" named after their resemblance to an allover pattern of gold or copper coins. Compare also mukhattam. Al-Tha'ālibī in the treatise known as *Fiḳh al-Lugha* added mu'aiyan "with an eye pattern," and quoted a verse referring to the time of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, concerning carpets and cloth "decorated with horses," and "decorated with birds."

[187] There are several varieties of cloth here which I have not been able to find in any other text. The words may be corrupt. These are muḍabbab (?, embroidered with lizards), and radjīḥ (heavy, weighted ?).

[188] Described by Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, 470 ff.

[189] El-Bokhârî, *Les Traditions islamiques*, trans. by O. Houdas and W. Marçais, *P.E.L.O.V.*, IV, III, IV, 108. Cf. *Le Recueil des traditions mahométanes par . . . el-Bokhârî*, ed. M. L. Krehl and T. W. Juynboll (Leyden, 1862–1905), IV, 84.

forbidden.[190] Thus, already in the third century H. there was some doubt about the exact nature of these stuffs. Confusion seems to have arisen between two towns of a similar name, for Maḳrīzī gave the following account of Ḳais:

> Ḳais was one of the neighboring districts to Bahnasā . . . Ibn al-Kindī said: "They have garments of wool, and robes of goat hair (mir'izz) which are not to be found anywhere in the world but in Egypt. Some Egyptians relate that Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān, when he became old, could not keep warm, and it was agreed that he could only be kept warm by robes made in Egypt of dyed goat wool of a pure honey color. Numbers were made for him, but he needed only one. They have the ṭirāz inscription of Ḳais and al-Bahnasā on the curtains (sutūr) and tents (miḍrab) by which they are recognised. The ṭirāz of the people of the world is there." [191]

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi in discussing other ṭirāz cities, said: "One of the districts of the Ṣa'īd (Upper Egypt) is al-Ḳais after which Ḳaisī garments are named, and another is al-Ṣafan (?) after which red Ṣafan robes are named." [192]

Ibn Zawlāḳ, however (before 387 H. [997 A.D.]), gave information about quite another locality. Talking of El Arish ('Arīsh) and Djifār, he said: "They have garments (thiyāb) which are mentioned by the prophet of God, known as Ḳassī made in Ḳass." [193]

This city of Ḳais is mentioned in the same work of Maḳrīzī, but it is obviously a different place from the city near Bahnasā:

> A village to which are attributed the Ḳaisī garments, the ruins of which exist to this day. It is upon the salt sea between al-Sawāda and al-Wārida, about six posts by land from the town of al-Faramā. There is a great tel (hill) of sand, jutting into the Syrian Sea, where the Franks used to block the road to passers by. Near the hill is a salt patch where there is salt which the Arabs take to Gaza and Ramle. Near this salt patch are wells by which are planted cucumbers belonging to the Arabs of that region.[194]

Yāḳūt tried to explain the name in various ways. After quoting from the Traditions he added the remark of a philologist, which is probably incorrect:

> Shimr said: "Al-Ḳassī is al-Ḳazzī, the *z* of which has been changed into an *s*." He quoted a verse of Rabī'a ibn Maḳrūm: "They made noble mats (namaṭ) into curtains (khidr), and displayed leather and striped wool ('ihn) upon the litters, and wore Iraqi stuff (raiṭ) and precious Ḳassī."
>
> I say that in the land of India, between the river Wārā is a country called Ḳassī, a well-known place from which various kinds of garments and colored warpings (mi'zar) are imported. They are the most splendid of all stuffs imported from India of that kind. Indigo is imported thence used for dyeing. It is also of the finest of its kind.
>
> A reliable Egyptian authority stated: I asked the Arabs of Djifār about al-Ḳassī, and I was shown a place like a hillock (tel) from afar, and I was told that this is al-Ḳass. It is a place near the coast between al-Faramā and El Arish, ruined, and without any traces left.
>
> Al-Ḥasan ibn Muhammad al-Muhallabī, the Egyptian, said: The road leading from al-Faramā to Gaza is along the coast from Faramā to the headland of Ḳass which is a tongue jutting into the sea where there is a fortress inhabited by the people. They have gardens, orchards, sweet water, and sow a few crops. . . . This supports what the above-mentioned author told me. The author of the latter composed a book for 'Azīz, governor of Egypt who was in office in the year 365 H. (975–76 A.D.), and died in the year 386 H. (996 A.D.).[195]

[190] *Ibid.*, trans., IV, 47, text, IV, 38.

[191] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 204, and trans., p. 599.

[192] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 268.

[193] Ibn Zawlāḳ, extract in Youssouf Kamal, *op. cit.*, p. 685.

[194] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 182, trans., p. 520.

[195] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 94.

An article has recently come to my notice which adds considerably to the documentation of al-Ḳass, and seems to confirm the account of Yāḳūt's "reliable Egyptian authority." See the articles by J. Clédat under the title "Note sur l'isthme de Suez," *Bull. instit. franç. d' archéol. orientale du Caire*, XXI (1922), and XXII (1923). Clédat says (XXI, 98), "Le lin pélusiaque était une des quatre principales variétés d' Egypte (quoting Pliny). Il servait à confectionner des vêtements et aussi des étoffes brochées d'or, qui faisaient l' admiration du monde entier; ces tissus se fabriquaient principalement

Yāḳūt [196] mentioned yet another city, Ḳasā, which he tried to identify as the place where those garments were made, but this does not seem to be the place intended. The passage from Ya'ḳūbī quoted earlier in this chapter, does not identify Ḳais with Ḳassī garments at all, and no doubt it is the coast city of Ḳass from which the prophet derived his Ḳassī garments.

To this little group of textile-manufacturing cities, partly Egyptian and partly Syrian, one might add al-Faramā. Mas'ūdī [197] stated that it had stuffs of every kind.

Of Djifār and El Arish, I have not found any information, supplementary to the above, but Usāma ibn Munḳidh spoke of a "handsome Gaza saddle (sardj) . . . on which my name was written along the border (dā'ir) in black. The center of it was quilted (munabbat)." [198] Nāṣir-i-Khusraw referring to the Fatimids said:

> All the saddlecloths (namad-zīn) are of Rūmī (Greek) brocade, and Būḳalamūn, which, as it is made to order, is neither cut nor sewn. An inscription bearing the name of the sultan of Egypt runs along the borders (ḥāshiya) of those saddle-cloths.[199]

The style is similar.

Part VI

ALUM, NATRON, AND INDIGO

Egypt was the center of production and trade in certain substances used in the dyeing and preparation of cloth; these, with the regulations for sale and control are set forth in several authors. Most of them seem to be derived from the early Ibn Mammātī (*ob.* 606 H. [1209 A.D.]). One of these substances was alum (shabb) of which he said:

> It is a stone which is needed in many things, the most important being dyeing. There is some demand on the part of the Byzantines (Rūm) for their requirements; for they cannot do without it nor avoid using it. The mines are in the desert of the Ṣa'īd (Upper Egypt); the custom of the Dīwān therein is to spend thirty dirhams and sometimes even less in acquiring every ḳinṭār (one hundred raṭls) of it, in Laithī ḳinṭārs. The Arabs bring it down from the mine to the riverbank of Ḳūṣ, and the riverbank of Akhmim, Suyūṭ, and Bahnasā if its sale is from the Oases (Wāḥāt). It is carried to Alexandria from whichever bank it is found upon, at the time when the (flood-) water runs into the canal leading to it. No allowance is made for the employees here, except that

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dans les ateliers de Kasios, Tinnis, et Damiette. Péluse fournissait aussi des étoffes de lin." Again he says (*ibid.*, XXII, 162): "Kasios était une ville industrielle. Elle était connue par ses fabriques d' étoffes de lin, nommées Qassiah ou Qeissiah." The author refers us to Stephen of Byzantium under κάσιον. Clédat describes the site as it exists today, an elevated area; he has visited the place himself and his impression of the site closely resembles that of the authority quoted by Yāḳūt. Evidently such a classical or possibly early Islamic site may be worthy of excavation. Thus, also, we see that Ḳassī stuffs belong to the same textile-group as the manufactures of Tinnīs-Damietta which I have identified with the Arabic Ḳubāṭī. The town must have been destroyed or abandoned shortly before, or in the century and a half following the Arab conquest. It may be that it was ruined on the Persian invasion of Byzantine Egypt, but that the name of the cloth persisted in early Islamic times. The second Caliph Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb forbade women to wear Ḳubāṭī (Coptic cloth) on the grounds according to Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (*Madkhal* [Cairo, 1933], I, 242), that "even if it is not transparent it describes (the shape of the body)." Again the same author (*loc. cit.*) says "Ḳubāṭī is fine cloth (thawb), clinging to the body on account of its fineness." It is interesting to note that these two textiles, Ḳubāṭī and Ḳassī, both of which in all probability came from the same group of factories, should come under the disapproval of the traditionalists.

Khwarizmī gives al-Ḳass and al-Nakhla on the sea between the latitude and longitude of Faramā and Gaza (*Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, ed. H. von Mžik, p. 18). He also gives the bearing of a city, al-Ḳais (*ibid.*, p. 13).

[196] *Ibid.*, IV, 91.

[197] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, VIII, 20. Cf. translation by B. Carra de Vaux, *Le Livre de l'avertissement et de la revision* (Paris, 1896), p. 33.

[198] Usāma ibn Munḳidh, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–29, and *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, trans. by P. K. Hitti (New York, 1929), p. 54.

[199] Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, *op. cit.*, I, trans., p. 137, text, p. 46.

which is required for the inspection of their market (matdjar). This is what is required by the precautions on the part of the Dīwān. . . . It is bought by the Laithī ḳinṭār, and sold by the Djarawī ḳinṭār. Formerly, there was an established sale of twelve thousand dinars to the merchants of Byzantium (Rūm), whatever surplus there was over that, being by the efforts of the employees in concert with the merchants. Its price used to vary from four, five, to six dinars and intervening prices. Whatever the merchants used to spend over and above this on account of a demand, was by the efforts of the employees. The quantity sold to the felt makers (labbād), reed-mat-makers (ḥuṣurī), and dyers (ṣabbāgh) came to eighty Djarawī ḳinṭārs a year, the price being seven and one-half dinars. No one was allowed to buy it from the Arabs and come down to trade with it, but the Dīwān. If anybody was found to possess any of it, it was destroyed according to the amount, along with severe punishment. It was not customary to bring any of it to Damietta and Tinnīs, and as for the transport of it to Alexandria, there was a kind called Kawwārī (?) brought from the Oases (Wāḥāt). An estimate of one dinar and two ḳīrāṭs was made for the employees for the transference of each ḳinṭār of it, and that used to be carried to the place of marketing as we have related, but the demand for it was small.[200]

A parallel passage is in Maḳrīzī:

The mines of alum are in the Ṣa'īd. The Dīwān used to spend as a rule, thirty dirhams for the acquisition of a Laithī ḳinṭār. The Arabs bring it from its mines to the riverbank at Akhmim, Suyūṭ, and Bahnasā, so that it can be taken to Alexandria when the Nile floods the channel to it. It was bought at the Laithī ḳinṭār, and sold at the Djarawī ḳinṭār. The amount of twelve thousand Djarawī ḳinṭārs was sold to the Greek (Rūmī) merchants at four to six dinars a ḳinṭār. About eighty Djarawī ḳinṭārs were sold in Miṣr (Cairo) to the felt makers (lubūdī) and dyers at the price of six and one-half dinars the ḳinṭār. Nobody else was able to buy it from the Arabs or anyone else. If it was discovered that someone had bought or sold any outside the Dīwān he was punished for an example, and all found in his possession destroyed. This has fallen into desuetude.[201]

The other substance for which Egypt has always been noted is the mineral natron. Ibn Mammātī again is very well instructed on the subject:

This natron is found in two mines in Egypt. One of them is in the west province outside a place called Ṭarrāna, there being a river between it and that city. There are two kinds, red and green. The other mine is in Fāḳūsīya, but it does not come up to the first in quality. Natron is restricted and preserved, there being no means of access to the use of it except through the employees of the Dīwān.

The amount of money spent on each ḳinṭār of it is two dirhams, but in the times of demand, the price of a ḳinṭār reaches seventy dirhams and more. The custom established at the present day therein is that when the Dīwān expends on the employees the wage for the carrying of ten thousand ḳinṭārs, they claim to collect fifteen thousand ḳinṭārs, the excess there being half a ḳinṭār. The contracts of the employees are made out to contract to collect that amount. The quantity of this kind required every year is thirty thousand ḳinṭārs. The farmers (of the natron) must deliver it from the direction of Ṭarrāna so that the Dīwān may be secure against any shortage in weight, and the danger of loss in transit. This provision, even if it provides some protection to the Dīwān, leads to the delay of the full balance by the natron farmers, because it is a custom of theirs that when they do not take out natron they have not to deliver any money for it. They always keep delaying the taking out of the entire quantity they have to extract, or at least the major part of it so that they make a profit thereby; nor do they deliver the kind they have sold. The Arabs in truth, are safe on account of the inability of the officials to control the Wadi (Natrun) and to guard it from them so that they collect to the advantage of the farmers and the loss of the Dīwān.

The farmers of natron have no customers among those who gain a livelihood by spinning. Only the bleachers (mubaiyiḍ) and the owners of furnaces (tannūr) need it, and they can only get it from them (the natron farmers). So necessity drives them to buy it from them at the above-mentioned price, in spite of the (low) sum spent on it, which is never exceeded. This department spends its money or most of it on the expenses of expeditions and the admirals of ships. Another scheme of the natron farmers is to buy a kind of it called Shūkis[202] which the bleachers need in some of their

[200] Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al-Dawānīn* (Cairo, 1318 H. [1900–1901 A.D.]), p. 23.

[201] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 109, and trans., p. 315.

[202] See the glossary to the *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba fī Aḥkām al-Ḥisba of Ibn al-Ukhuwwa*, ed. by R. Levy, G.M.S., n.s., XII.

processes. It is the custom of the officials to restrict that and to write to the governors to be on the watch for it. There are various imposts on natron. In Cairo it is sold by the Miṣrī (ḳinṭār) and in the Baḥr al-Sharḳ and the Baḥr al-Gharb by the Djarawī (ḳinṭār). Thus it is also in the Ṣa'īd, and in Damietta it is sold by the Tinnīsī (ḳinṭār).[203]

Maḳrīzī duplicates this passage in an abbreviated form:

Natron is found in the west province of the land of Egypt in the district of Ṭarrāna. It is red and green. A quantity of rather less than that of Ṭarrāna is found at Fāḳūsīya. It is another item of the products once common to all which Ibn Mudabbir restricted and placed under the control of a Dīwān of the sultan. It has continued since then to this day. The practice of the Dīwān was to bring, each year, ten thousand ḳinṭārs of it, and the farmers were allotted the amount of 30 ḳinṭārs of it each year which they had to deliver at Ṭarrāna. In Cairo it was sold by the Miṣrī (ḳinṭār), and at the Bāb al-Sharḳ, and the Ṣa'īd (Upper Egypt) by the Djarawī ḳinṭār, and in Damietta by the Laithī ḳinṭār.

The Cadi al-Fāḍil (the dates intended here are between the years 567–94 H. [1171–97 A.D.],[204] said: "Until the end of the year 585 H. (1189 A.D.) the Department of Natron was farmed for the sum of 15,500 dinars. In the year 586 H. (1190 A.D.) the sum of 7,800 dinars was produced." We have seen that the natron was given as fiefs to a number of soldiers. When the emir Mahmud ibn Ali became steward and comptroller of the state in the reign of al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ he monopolised the natron for which he made a market and it was not allowed to be sold elsewhere. Thus it is to this day."[205]

Of Ahmed ibn Muhammad ibn Mudabbir, Maḳrīzī said: "He invented all kinds of vexations which increased after him instead of diminishing. He restricted natron and appropriated the revenue, though previously anyone could take it."[206] Ibn Iyās[207] gave the date of this restriction as 250 H. (846 A.D.)

Egypt with parts of Africa, India, Palestine, and southeastern Persia was one of the sources of the supply of indigo to the Muslim world. Various authors, such as Ibn 'Awwām[208] describe the cultivation, and the *Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra*[209] gives an account of how it and also saffron and brazilwood (baḳḳam), are treated. 'Abd al-Laṭīf[210] said that indigo is abundant in Egypt, though inferior to that of India, (fourteenth century). Maḳrīzī knew that "indigo (nīla) is sown from Bashans onwards. The sowing is a waiba to the feddan (acre). It ripens in Abīb."[211] According to Ḳalḳashandī, "the tax on indigo is three dinars on every feddan."[212]

(*To be continued*)

[203] Ibn Mammātī, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[204] See Guest, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 ff.

[205] Maḳrīzī, Khiṭaṭ, text, I, 109, trans., *op. cit.*, p. 315.

For Ṭarrāna, see P. Ravaisse, *Zoubdat Kachf al-Mamâlik . . . par Khalil aḍ-Ḍâhiry* (Paris, 1894), p. 35.

[206] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 103, trans., p. 298.

[207] Ibn Iyās, L. Langlès, *op. cit.*, VIII (1810), 30.

[208] Ibn 'Awwām, *Le Livre de l'agriculture d'Ibn al-Awam (Kitab al-felahah)*, trans. by J. J. Clément-Mullet (Paris, 1864–67), II, 297.

[209] Dja'far ibn Ali al-Dimashḳī, *al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra* (Cairo, 1318 H. [1900 A.D.]), p. 21.

[210] 'Abd al-Laṭīf, *Relation de l'Egypte par Abd-Allatif, médecin arabe de Bagdad* (Paris, 1810), p. 36.

[211] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 103, trans., p. 295.

[212] Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, III, 453.

DAMASCUS: STUDIES IN ARCHITECTURE—IV*

BY ERNST HERZFELD

THE MOSQUE

The study of Ayyubid architecture would be incomplete with the mosques of that period entirely neglected. The mere name of Damascus evokes at once the picture of the Great Mosque of the Umayyads, one of the wonders of the world to the Arabs, a symbol of the time when Damascus was the capital of the civilized world.

Much has been written about this work of al-Walīd (*Figs. 1, 2,* and *15–16*). In 1893 a great fire destroyed it, and what we see today is a new building, though it keeps the body of the outer walls and follows inside the model of the old building. Figure 15 reproduces the photographs by Bonfils taken before the fire. When I saw it first in 1903, it was under construction. van Berchem had studied it in 1893, before, and in 1894, after the fire, and his notes, together with unpublished notes of René Dussaud, taken about the same time, are today the main material for the study of the prehistory of the Mosque. The problem is infinitely complicated by the circumstance that already the church did not belong to any normal type, but was entirely exceptional, just as were the main sanctuaries of the other great Syrian towns, Ḥimṣ, Hama, Aleppo, all antique temples, first converted into churches, then into mosques.

Only one contribution I make here to the history of the Umayyad Mosque. Figure 1 gives some mason marks collected in the interior of the western minaret, Ma'dhana al-Gharbīya, in the antique lower story at the level of the exterior system of flat pilasters with a cavetto capital.[1] These marks are clearly Seleucid, in accordance with the style of the exterior pilasters. And the two important parts decorated with these pilasters, west and east sides of the present mosque, must be attributed to the third century B.C.

Figure 2 gives one mason mark in Kufic and a graffito in the interior of the next, cubic story of the same minaret, which consists of ten courses of huge masonry, crowned by a simple cornice; above it rises the octagonal shaft of the Mameluke superstructure.

The graffito reads: "Allah pardon the Cadi Salmān b. Ali !" It belongs to the Seljuk period, and the cubical story of the minaret must have existed at that period.

My purpose is to show the influence exerted by this Great Mosque on buildings of the following periods. This influence has never been denied, but it reaches much farther than generally recognized.

The Great Mosque of Aleppo

The first imitation, almost contemporary, was the Great Mosque of Aleppo (*Fig. 17*). There, the treaty of capitulation gave the Christians the

* See "Damascus: Studies in Architecture—I," *Ars Islamica,* IX (1942), 1–53; "Damascus: Studies in Architecture—II," *ibid.,* X (1943), 13–70; "Damascus: Studies in Architecture—III," *ibid.,* XI–XII (1946), 1–71 (hereinafter cited respectively as Pt. I, Pt. II, and Pt. III). During his last illness Professor Herzfeld was unable to read the proof of this article. He died on January 21, 1948, in Basel, Switzerland. An obituary will appear in the next volume.—Ed.

[1] A. C. Dickie, "The Great Mosque of the Omeiyades, Damascus," *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quart. Statement,* 1897, Pl. 4, opp. p. 276. K. Wulzinger and C. Watzinger, *Damaskus . . .* (Berlin, 1921–24), I, 7, Figs. 5–7 (hereinafter cited as W.W.)

possession of their cathedral, but stipulated the cession of the churchyard east of the cathedral for the building of a new mosque. The discovery of Hittite basalt sculptures in the, later, court of the mosque proves that in remote antiquity the area was occupied by a temple.

The Cadi Shams al-Dīn Abu Abdallah Muhammad b. al-Khiḍr reports: The mosque of Aleppo rivaled that of Damascus for its ornaments, zakhrafa, its marbles, and its mosaics, fusaifisa. It is also said: Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik had built it wishing to make it as beautiful as the work of his brother Walīd at Damascus.[2] (Ibn al-'Adīm)

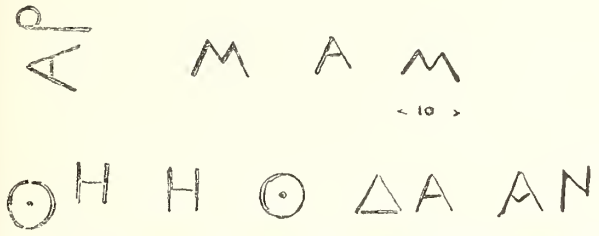


Fig. 1—Damascus, Great Mosque, Greek Mason Marks

Although for an old Arab observer the *tertium comparationis* is, of course, the splendor of the decoration, the comparison includes, as will be seen, the type of the building.

The detailed discussion will be found in the *Aleppo* volume of the *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum;* a short summary must suffice here. Fire and earthquake made necessary a complete reconstruction of the old mosque under Zengī and Nūr al-Dīn, but the plan adopted at that occasion followed closely the original one. The body of the present walls, exterior and around the court, and equally the famous pavement of the court, mentioned by Ibn Djubair in 581, are still those of the sixth century H., the minaret remains from an earlier period, Malikshāh and Tutush. The broad prayer hall on the south side opened on the court with fifteen arches, to each of which corresponded an intercolumnium in the two arcades of the interior. Those three naves were covered by gable roofs of wood, djamalūn [as in Nūr al-Dīn's reconstruction of the Rakka mosque]. The text adds: "As in the Great Mosque of Damascus." The middle of the façade on the court rose to greater height and was covered by a gable, called by the same term as that used in Damascus: al-nasr, "eagle," Greek *aëtós*. Thus, the mosque had the same transept as the mosque of the Umayyads with its famous Ḳubbat al-Nasr.

Only after the destruction by the Mongols in 658–59, this appearance was changed, not the plan, by a reconstruction beginning in 684 under the Cadi Ibn Ṣaḳar. Two rows of piers supporting small cross vaults replaced the inner colonnades. The middle transept must have persisted, since its demolition is reported at a later date. When the governor Ḳarasonḳor al-djōkandār—whose mausoleum stands at Maragha in Azerbaijan—inspected the finished building, he could not refrain from saying: "It is a stable that you have built!" The colonnades around the court were replaced by vaulted halls only in 724–27, 731–39, and 824. Between 842 and 857, under the Mameluke Sultan Ẓāhir Djaḳmaḳ, many of the vaults built by Ibn Ṣaḳar collapsed, and, in order to save the building, they all had to be pulled down. At this occasion the old walls of Zengī and Nūr al-Dīn were strengthened by inner pilasters, and the upper story and gable of the middle of the façade were removed. No transept was restored, but an insignificant cupola was put over the middle square in the axis of the mihrab, a faint remembrance of the transept. Since then, the mosque appeared as

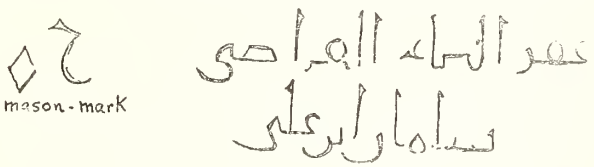


Fig. 2—Damascus, Great Mosque, Kufic Graffiti

[2] Ibn al-'Adīm, *Al-Durr* . . . (Beyrouth, 1909), p. 61.

today, with little left to prove its original similarity to the Mosque of Damascus.

In the sixth century the old rule was still strictly observed that no town could have more than one mosque for the celebration of the common Friday prayer and sermon, khuṭba. They all had countless masdjids, small prayer halls, but no second masdjid djāmi'. Seeming exceptions are the largest towns like Baghdad, Samarra, Cairo, which had grown together from several separate townships.

It was no exception to that rule that a Great Mosque was built at Sāliḥīya, the suburb of Damascus, in 599 H.

Djāmi' al-Ḥanābila, or al-muẓaffarī, Ṣāliḥīya

(*Figs. 3–8, 19–23,* and *26*).[3]

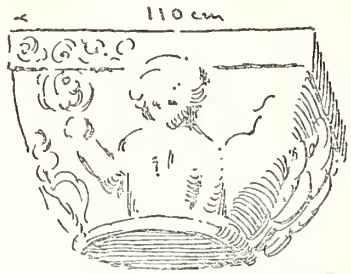


Fig. 3

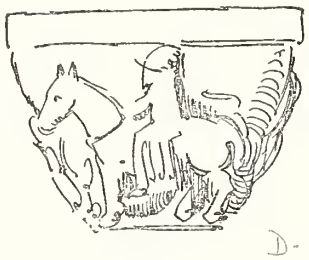


Fig. 4

Figs. 3 and 4—Damascus, Ṣāliḥīya, Djāmi' al-Ḥanābila, Frankish Capital

Djāmi' al-Djabal, well known under the name Djāmi' al-Ḥanābila (of the Hanbalites) or al-muẓaffarī (of malik al-muẓaffar Gökbüri).[4] (Nu'aimī)

Abū 'Umar Muhammad b. Ḳudāma al-Muḳaddasī (from Jerusalem) began building the Djāmi' al-Djabal; the expenses were taken care of by a certain Sheikh Abu Dā'ūd Maḥāsin ibn al-Fāmī (from Apamea), until Ibn Ḳudāma took over the building and had spent all he

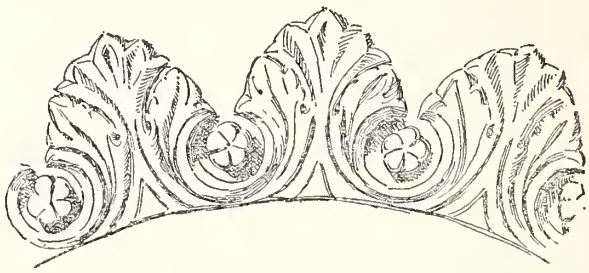


Fig. 5—Damascus, Ṣāliḥīya, Djāmi' al-Ḥanābila Acanthi



Fig. 6—Damascus, Ṣāliḥīya, Djāmi' al-Ḥanābila Antique Vine Scroll

owned. Malik al-muẓaffar Gökbüri b. Zain al-Dīn Kudjik, lord of Irbil (Arbela), then sent a large sum and finished the work. Gökbüri means "blue bear." According to Ibn Shuḥba, *Annals,* he was the son of Ali b. Begtekin b. Kudjik (meaning "short"), the Turcoman.[5] (Ibn al-Kathīr)

When Gökbüri heard of the lack of funds for the building of this Hanbalite mosque, he sent, by a chamberlain, 3,000 atābekī dinars for the construction, an eventual balance to be used as waqf. He sent also 1,000 dinar to construct a water conduit from the Barza, but malik al-Mu'aẓẓam (615–24) opposed that, and a well was dug, the water of which was brought up by a mule that turned around. That was in 598. The first preacher was Abu 'Umar al-Muḳaddasī. (Ibn Shaddād)

[3] M. van Berchem, "Plan of Ṣāliḥīya, Damascus," 2' (unpublished MS in Geneva); W.W., Vol. II, No. DN, VIII, c; J. Sauvaget, *Monuments historiques de Damas* (Beyrouth, 1932), No. 90 (hereinafter cited as Sauvaget).

[4] H. Sauvaire, "Description de Damas," *Journ. asiatique,* IX sér., VII (1896), 241 ff. The article starts in Vol. III (1894). References to it are hereinafter quoted as *J.A.*

[5] Ibn al-Kathīr, *Chronicle,* year 598.

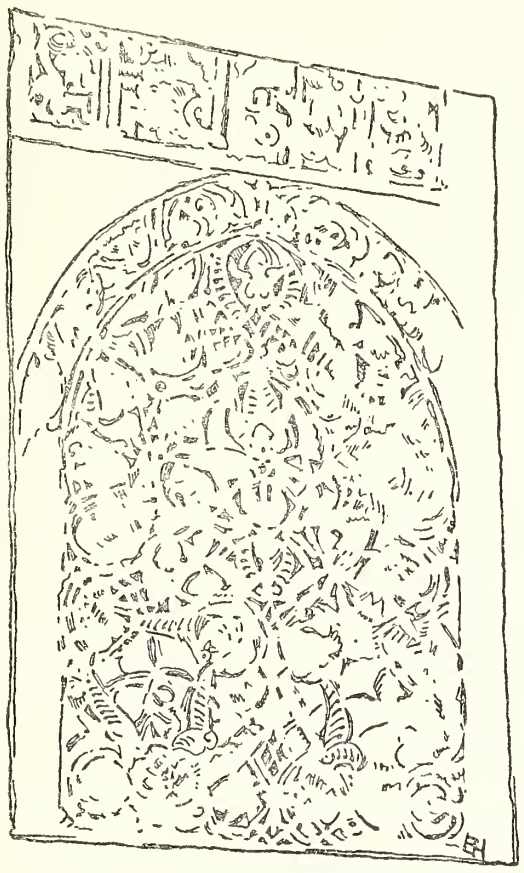


FIG. 7—DAMASCUS, ṢĀLIḤĪYA, DJĀMI' AL-ḤANĀBILA
WINDOW SCREEN

Inscription 50

On the lintel of the west gate, outside, 120 by 40 cm., six lines:

كوكبورى بن علىّ بن بكتكين صاحب إربل بتولّى
محاسن بن سان (؟) بن أبى محمّد القلانسىّ — — —
سنة تسع وتسعين وخمسمائة

(This Mosque was built) by Gökbüri b. Ali b. Begtekin, lord of Mosul, by the trusteeship of Maḥāsin b. . . . b. Abi Muhammad al-Ḳalānisī . . . in 599.[6]

[6] The first three inscriptions have been published in *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe,* ed. É. Combe, J. Sauvaget, and G. Wiet (Cairo, 1937), IX, Nos. 3550, 3551, and 3552, the last one without the date and wrongly attributed to 599. I confine myself to the historical passages giving slightly different readings.

An analogous inscription on the lintel of the east gate; six lines.

The trustee is called "his mameluke."

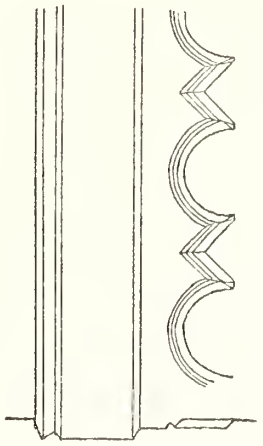


FIG. 8—DAMASCUS, ṢĀLIḤĪYA, DJĀMI' AL-ḤANĀBILA
MOLDING OF MIHRAB

Inscription 51

On the mimbar. A: panel with confession of faith in one line; frame with inscription, starting to the right, in one line, ending in a second line below. B: on back of seat, frame on four sides, inscription beginning to the right, in rhyming prose:

A right أمر بعمل هذا (above) المنبر العبد الفقير
الى رحمة الله كوكبورى (left) بن علىّ بن (below)
بكتكين صاحب إربل تغمّده الله برحمته (؟) واثابه
اباه (اباه ؟ or) 2 بتولية العبد الفقير الى رحمة
الله محاسن بن — — مان بن أبى محمّد القلانسىّ سنة
اربع وستّمائة

B (right) اللهمّ وأدم الله مولانا الامام بن الامام صاحب
البرده والقضيب والحسام الذى ليس للمسلمين امام
(above) سواه ولا خليفة أبى العبّاس احمد أدام الله
أيّامه أدم الله النعمة والتمكين ببقاء الملك العادل سيف
الدنيا والدين خليل أمير المؤمنين (below) أبو بكر
بن أيّوب ادام الله أيّامه وبشر فى الخافقين أعلامه

. . . Gökbüri . . . lord of Irbil ordered to make this mimbar . . . through . . . Maḥāsin b. . . . b. Abi Muhammad al-Ḳalānisī, in the year 604.

What follows is a prayer for Caliph Abu'l-'Abbās Ahmed [al-Nāṣir lidīnillāh] and Sultan malik al-mu'azzam Saif al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, khalīl amīr al-mu'minīn, Abū Bakr, an abridgement of the formula pronounced in the orthodox khuṭba on Fridays, meaning the recognition of suzerainty. The title in amīr al-mu'minīn stands in exceptional position for rhyme's sake.

Inscription 52

On lintel of door of minaret, four lines:

١. بسمله ـ ـ ـ أمر بعمارة هذه المأذنة المباركة ٢. العبد
الفقير الى رحمة الله تعالى مظفّر الدين كوكبورى ٣.
أيّام مولانا الملك العادل سيف الدنيا والدين أبو بكر بن
أيّوب فى سنة أثنىعشر وستّمائة

. . . Gökbüri . . . lord of Irbil has ordered to build this minaret . . . at the epoch of our lord malik al-'ādil . . . Abū Bakr, . . . in 612.

Two more inscriptions, a partial repair dated 646, and an edict abolishing market taxes, were published by van Berchem.[7]

Gökbüri of Irbil, husband of Rabī'a Khātūn, Saladin's sister, foundress of the Madrasa al-Ṣāḥiba (near the mosque of Gökbüri), and probably brother of 'Alā al-Dīn, to whom the turba near the Sha'mīya belonged, was, as van Berchem says "un des principaux acteurs dans le marche du sunnisme à l'Ouest." His long biography in Ibn Khallikān[8] does not mention this mosque among his buildings, but gives a vivid picture of this great character. In about 596 he had built a madrasa at Irbil, the minaret of which still stands.[9] He was born in 549 and died in 630, at a great age, without leaving an heir, and foreseeing danger from the East, he willed Irbil to Caliph al-Nāṣir, whom he mentions in his mimbar inscription.

The name of the father of the trustee, though occurring in three inscriptions, is not clear. One feels inclined to identify this Maḥāsin with the Sheikh Abū Dā'ūd Maḥāsin of Ibn al-Kathīr. He may have been a grandson of the famous Abū Ya'lā Ḥamza b. Asad b. Ali b. Muhammad ibn al-Ḳalānisī, twice vizier of Damascus, who died in 555 H.[10]

The plan of the mosque (*Fig. 19*) is abstracted, by eliminating some individual features, from that of the mosque of the Umayyads, and, of course, much reduced in scale, but no new ideas have been introduced. The court has become square, its arcades have angular piers and columns in rhythmical alternation. The minaret stands to the right of the north gate (now walled up) and of the north–south axis, just as does the north minaret of the Great Mosque. The east and west gates have the same position as there. The prayer hall, 20.5 by 31.5 m. (2 : 3), is covered by three gable roofs of wood, parallel to the south wall, with a minimum of supporting elements, two arcades of six pillars each, in order not to impede the view of the interior. Although the direction of these three naves is east–west, the wider span of the central arch creates the effect of a vertical transept, which, together with the slightly wider south nave, forms in space an accentuated T, which is desirable for the Friday ceremonies. The whole is the idea of the Great Mosque, not hampered by restrictions imposed by a pre-existing building.

[7] In M. von Oppenheim's *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien* (Leipzig, 1913), n. 193 and 196.

[8] Ibn Khallikān, *Biographies*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1835), No. 558.

[9] F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet* (Berlin, 1911–20), II, 314–18, Figs. 295–98 (hereinafter cited as *Arch. Reise*).

[10] Yāḳūt, *Irshād . . . Dictionary of Learned Men . . .*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden, 1907–9), VI, 4, 145. Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon . . .*, ed. C. J. Thornberg (Leyden, 1851–76), XII, 85 notes the death of the last of his companions in 593 H., at Wāsiṭ. There seems to be a confusion in Nu'aimī (*J.A.*, 1894, p. 279) with a vizier living in 649–729 H.

In the court is a tank and the well mentioned by Ibn Shaddād. A curious capital (*Figs. 3* and *4*), serves as wellhead. Though in shape resembling Sasanian capitals, it is a crusader's work, here used a second time. A similar capital in the citadel of Damascus, published by Wulzinger and Watzinger [11] was compared by F. Volbach to examples from Aosta, Italy, and St. Benoit-sur-Loire, of the twelfth century A.D.

The arches over the inside of the two main doors of the portico are decorated with an archivolt of acanthi in stucco (*Fig. 5*) astonishingly antique. Similar acanthi on the corner piers of the façade of the Rakka Mosque, restored under Nūr al-Dīn in 563, I believed to be remains of the older period of that mosque (al-Manṣūr), as the piers themselves probably are. Creswell accepted this,[12] but in view of the Ḥanābila acanthi, one must consider the Rakka frieze to be added at the period of the restoration. In Syria, the frequency and the use of antique pieces may always lead to spontaneous imitation. Figure 6, representing an antique block of basalt with a vine scroll rising from a vase, may illustrate it: the vine scrolls of the period of Baibars and Ḳalā'ūn,[13] are certainly inspired by antique specimens. The symbolic idea is Christian, alluding to John 15.

Above the two doors from the porticoes to the prayer hall are windows with their original screen in perforated stucco. Bad whitewash makes the details difficult to observe, but the arabesque design is much more developed than in the windows of the Mūristān Nūrī (*Fig. 7*). Thus, both mutually attest that they are part of the original structures.

Over the seven doors in the north wall of the prayer hall the original wooden soffits are preserved; their simple ornament comes from the "first Samarra style." [14]

The mihrab (*Figs. 23* and *26*) is in stone masonry, much disfigured by thick oil paint. According to the sober Ayyubid manner, it is only decorated with a tress on the arch of the niche and a cuspidated molding (*Fig. 8*) that frames the entire field. The pair of small columns are spolia, crusader's work; a few human heads were chiseled off when they were put into the mihrab, being too heathen. The mimbar of Gökbüri is equally disfigured by thick oil paint (*Figs. 22* and *23*). A detail of its wood carving was published by R. Dussaud.[15] It is a good work, but has not the quality of the works of the Aleppo school under Nūr al-Dīn, and not even that of the cenotaph of Saladin.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Taghriberdī remark about Aleppo: "The first djāmi' intra muros beside the Great Mosque was the djāmi' Alṭynbogha, built in 723." Its inscription gives the date 718 H. (1318 A.D.). After that time the old rule was no longer observed. At Damascus it came earlier.

Djāmi' al-Tawba, "Mosque of Repentance" (*Fig. 33*) [16]

North of the Baradā, about 300 m. from Bāb al-Faradj, in the 'Uḳaiba quarter, east of sūḳ Sarūdja, at the south end of the antique hippodrome which extended over the Daḥdāḥ cemetery.[17]

Masdjid al-Tawba, outside the Bāb al-Farādīs.[18] (Nu'aimī)

Malik al-ashraf Mūsā b. al-'Ādil, in the year 632, demolished the khān of the emir Fakhr al-Dīn al-Zindjārī at the 'Ukaiba, because it sheltered people of bad morals and blamable doings, and gave orders to transform it into

[11] W.W., I, Figs. 82–85.

[12] *Arch. Reise,* II, 361; K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* (Oxford, 1932–40), II, 47, Pl. 4b.

[13] Pt. I, Figs. 55–56.

[14] Cf. the wood carving from the Madrasa al-Māridānīya, Pt. III, Fig. 35.

[15] R. Dussaud, P. Deschamps, and H. Seyrig, *La Syrie antique et médiévale illustrée* (Paris, 1931), Pl. 93.

[16] Cf. Pt. II, Fig. 79 and Pt. III, Fig. 143.

[17] Sauvaget, No. 35.

[18] *J.A.,* 1895, p. 452.

a djāmi', the name of which should be Djāmi' al-Tawba, "Mosque of Repentance"; he rebuilt also the Masdjid al-Aḥṣāb, Masdjid Dār al-Sa'āda [where malik al-Amdjad had been murdered in 628], the Djāmi' Djarrāḥ and others.[19]

Djāmi' al-Tawba, at the 'Uḳaiba, built by malik al-ashraf Mūsā b. al-'Ādil in 632, formerly known as Khan al-Zindjārī, where all sorts of illicit deeds and sins were committed by singers and the like. . . .[20] (Ibn Khallikān tells the same and adds) something very amusing happened, as the poet Ibn al-Zuwaitīna told me in 647 when in Cairo, on diplomatic mission for the lord of Ḥims. When al-Ashraf wanted a preacher for this new mosque, several were proposed, and he chose al-Djamāl al-sibtī, then at the Madrasa al-Sha'mīya, but who had been before dancer and djaghāna player [an instrument consisting of a stick to which three cymbals were attached]; after his death, al-'Imād al-Wāsiṭī became his successor, a great drinker.[21]

Inscription 53

In the bay of the east entrance, above the lintel of the door, six lines, 220 by 70 cm.:

١. بسمله — — Kor. IX, 18 — ٢. أنشاء هذا الجامع
المبارك مولانا السلطان الملك الاشرف أبو الفتح موسى بن
السلطان الملك العادل أبى بكر بن أيّوب تغمّدهما الله
برحمته وذلك ٣. فى سنة اثنين وثلثين وستّمائة وتمّم
عمارته وجدّدها خطيبه الناظر ٤. أثابه الله الجنّة واوقف
عليه جميع الحوانيت الملاصقة بجدار الشرقيّ وهى اربع
عشرة حانوتاً وعضاده مجاورة (ا)لمزاته من الشمال
٥. وحانوتين وعضاده تحت الحجرة المنشاة لسكن
الخطيب وخمس حوانيت وعمارة سادسة شمالى المسجد
المحادى لهاذا الباب ٦. وطبـ[ـ ـ] فهىّ ثلاثة حجر
انشاء الخطيب وخزانة فى مخازن عروقيل وغربىّ دار
البطّيخ تحت القلعة وكتب سنة تسع واربعين وستّمائة
والحمد لله وحده

Basmala . . . Koran IX, 18 . . . our lord and sultan malik al-ashraf Abu 'l-Fatḥ Mūsā, son of the sultan malik al-'ādil Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb, Allah cover them with His mercy! has founded this blessed djāmi' and that . . . in 632. And the completion and renovation of the building have been accomplished by its khaṭīb and nāẓir (preacher and inspector) . . . Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Sallām. . . . He endowed it with the waqf: all the shops that lie at its east-wall, i.e., fourteen shops, and what is around them (?) adjacent to its . . . in the north; and two shops and their . . . under the chamber built as livingroom for the preacher; five shops and a sixth building north of the masdjid that is opposite this door, and [its] up[per story?], i.e., three rooms, built by the preacher; and a storeroom in the magazines of 'Arūḳīl, and [in those?] east of the Dār al-Baṭṭīkh at Taḥt al-Ḳal'a. Written in the year 649.[22]

This is not the original inscription, but one that quotes part of it, confirming the literary tradition.

Sauvaire translates another inscription, no longer existing, from the old collection Waddington, allegedly from the same door; [23] it is the name of malik al-ashraf Mūsā, dated 629, three years earlier than the date given here and in the literary tradition, and speaks of a different waqf. It adds also the nomination of a different inspector, Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣalāḥ al-naṣrī al-kurdī al-shahrazūrī, called Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ Taḳī al-Dīn, who, according to the biography, No. 422 of Ibn Khallikān, died in 643 at Damascus. At last, it adds the words "and he called it Djāmi' al-Tawba." Thus, there are points for and against the accuracy of the copy.

The plan of the djāmi', again, imitates the Great Mosque of the Umayyads. It is more elongated than the Ḥanābila Mosque, a shape,

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 263.

[20] *J.A.*, 1896, p. 238 f.

[21] Ibn Khallikān, *op. cit.*, No. 759 (malik al-ashraf Mūsā) p. 37.

[22] van Berchem's preliminary translation of this text (*J.A.* 1896, p. 273) leaves *'ḍ'dh* open, which might be "ḍ'd, plural of 'aḍd ("tract, side around something"). I checked lmz'th, end of line 4, as right, but cannot explain it: possibly lmḍ'th? Beginning of line 6. *ṭb*—is covered by a beam, perhaps ṭabaḳatihi. Read makhāzin 'arūḳīl for maḥall 'izz wa-ḳīl, the name of the quarter, usually called 'arāḳīl. The dār, today Khān al-Baṭṭīkh in Taḥt al-Ḳal'a is well known: on the horse market where the Djāmi' Yelbogha stands.

[23] *J.A.*, 1896, p. 272, n. 131.

which makes the resemblance with the Umayyad Mosque more striking, but which is simply caused by the condition of the area: the west side follows the rise of the terrain produced by the outline of the antique hippodrome.

The east gate has a fine muḳarnas vault of Ayyubid style. The pillars of the arcades around the court are octagonal. The prayer hall, not very deep, has only two longitudinal naves, this time with a transept; the cupola in front of the mihrab is of the normal type: octagon with corner niches (even the little cell under the niches is not missing), a drum of sixteen smaller niches, alternatingly pierced by a little window or decorated with a conch, and the dome. All the other roofs consist of wooden rafters.

Djāmi' al-Aḳṣāb, or al-Ḳaṣab

(*Figs. 27* and *31*)

North of the Baradā, about 200 m. outside the bāb al-Salāma.[24]

The building seems to have an old history, and in its northern portico part of a pre-Islamic building may be preserved.

A masdjid near the entrance to the Ṣatra lane; it contains the heads of the companions, aṣḥāb, of the Prophet; known under the name Masdjid al-Ḳaṣab. It is old. At its gate is a canal.[25] (Ibn Shaddād)

"Old," for Ibn Shaddād, means long before 632. Anything resembling the cult of heads is so totally non-Muhammedan that the presence of such heads is a clear symptom of pre-Muhammedan origin. van Berchem groups these legends around the survival of the Adonis myth, head of St. John, of Husain, and others.[26]

The madrasa al-Mismārīya . . . near the minaret Fīrūz [east of the Great Mosque], founded by the Sheikh Mismār al-Hilālī who died in 546, had a large waqf, the limit of which is indicated by ḥakr al-zuḳāḳ, enclosure of the (narrow) lane, called al-Ṣāḳiya and belonging to the area called Masdjid al-Aḳṣāb.[27] (Nu'aimī)

This indication of the locality evidently is taken by Nu'aimī or his source from the text of the waqf and proves the existence of the Masdjid al-Aḳṣāb before 546. In the passage quoted above, regarding the mosques newly built by malik al-ashraf Mūsā, the tadjdīd of the masdjid al-Aḳṣāb is enumerated twice.

On the thirteenth of Djumādā II 721 (July 10, 1321) the Friday prayer was celebrated in the Djāmi' al-Aḳṣāb. (Ibn al-Kathīr)

Djāmi' Masdjid al-Aḳṣāb was built anew and enlarged by Emir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muhammad b. Mendjik [with *k*, not *ḳ*, hence *e* and *i*] in 811.[28] (Nu'aimī)

This led to a lawsuit between the Hanafite and the Shafiite cadis:

Mendjik had destroyed the masdjid and built at its place a large djāmi', appropriating the area illegally.[29] (Ibn Shuḥba)

The note of Ibn al-Kathīr contradicts this description: since the Friday prayer was celebrated there in 721, it was a djāmi' ninety years before Mendjik. The excitement over the lawsuit and unjustified accusations of the unloved governor seem to be the reason for the inaccurate representation of the facts.

The entire inner decoration of the mosque, first of all the large mihrab, belongs to Mendjik, including the wooden roofs; perhaps also the rectangular pillars of the interior arcade, instead of columns. The attribution of the west tract, small

[24] W.W., H I, 4, I; 100, Fig. 63 and II, 49f, detailed description, plan Fig. 4, and views of the mihrab, Pl. 19, c-d; Sauvaget, No. 57: "Djāmi' al-sādāt al-Zainabīya [is the popular name of the Zainabī sayyids] reconstruite en 1408 (811 H.) par nāṣir al-dīn Muḥammad fils de Mandjak. Grande-mosquée mamelouke. . . ."

[25] *J.A.*, 1895, p. 451.

[26] In E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler* (Berlin, 1918), pp. 93–96.

[27] *J.A.*, 1894, p. 479.

[28] *Ibid.*, 1896, p. 239.

[29] *Ibid.*, n. 135.

chambers and lavatories, is doubtful. But the actual building is older and not a Mameluke, but a typical Ayyubid mosque of the period of malik al-ashraf Mūsā, 632. The northern portico as far as the minaret is irregular, probably because parts of a much older building are preserved, of the original masdjid in which the heads of the companions of the prophet were believed to be buried.

Columns and rectangular pillars alternate around the court, the usual Ayyubid interpretation of the arcades of the Umayyad Mosque. The north, east, and west gates are all disposed in analogy to the Great Mosque. The prayer hall has two naves instead of three, with open rafters. The pavement of the courtyard, around a tank in its middle, representing either carpets spread on the floor or the plan of an irrigated garden, is composed to fit the openings of the prayer hall and the arcades around the court and forms an integral part of the original building—see the contemporary examples quoted under "Māridānīya."

Djāmi' al-Aḥmar, the "Red Mosque"

(*Fig. 32*)

In the Jewish quarter, southern part of the town, inside the walls, between Bāb Shāghūr and Bāb Ḳaisān.[30]

Ibn Shaddād may refer to this mosque:

> A large masdjid in the Darb al-Baiyā'a, of old, a Jewish synagogue, then a masdjid, known as Masdjid al-Shāhrazūrī, because he used to sit there" (meaning to hold court or office hours).[31]
>
> A masdjid in the Darb al-Kulaila in the Jewish quarter, at the south end of the Darb al-Baiyā'a and Kulail al-Ḳāḍī.[32]

The cadi was apparently so well known that Ibn Shaddād does not think it necessary to give his name. Thus, there are two possibilities. Either Taḳī al-Dīn 'Uthmān ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī, whom we have mentioned under Djāmi' al-Tawba, or the famous cadi of Nūr al-Dīn, Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fadl Muhammad al-Shahrazūri, of whom Ibn al-Athīr relates:

> Nūr al-Dīn built everywhere in his lands courts of appeal where he used to sit in public with his Cadi al-Shahrazūrī, giving justice to the oppressed, be it a Jew—against the oppressors, be it his own son or first emir.[33]

In 1914 the mosque was in a desolate state of ruin. The north portico had fallen, no trace of roofs remained. The plan is, once more, a copy of the Great Mosque and must have been entirely regular. Two pilasters on each of the short sides of the prayer hall indicate a division by two arcades into three longitudinal naves. Traces of a transept were not visible. I had the impression that the building was certainly not later than the Ayyubid period.

Djāmi' Djarrāḥ

Figs. 9, 10, 28–30

Outside the Bāb Shāghūr (old Ṣaghīr) at the beginning of the large southern cemetery, east of the Maidān suburb.

> Masdjid al-Djanā'iz, "the Funeral Mosque" at the Bāb al-Ṣaghīr, on the sheep market, great and old. Having fallen into ruins, it was rebuilt by Djarrāḥ المسحى. It contains a well.[34]
>
> Djāmi' al-Djarrāḥ, outside of the Bāb al-Ṣaghīr, in the sheep market quarter, known of old as Masdjid al-Djanā'iz, ruined and rebuilt by Djarrāḥ 'lmnyḥī[35] [*sic* Ibn Shaddād, Nu'aimī disfigured 'lmḍkhy].

The nisba which Sauvaire could not solve is apparently al-manbidjī "from Manbidj."

The tribe of the Banu Djarrāḥ is often mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr during the fourth and fifth centuries; they were Ṭaiy Arabs, but I have

[30] W.W., I, 6, p. 2: "abgetragen."
[31] *J.A.*, 1895, p. 423.
[32] Cf. *ibid.*
[33] Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, XI, 266.
[34] *J.A.*, 1895, p. 446.
[35] *Ibid.*, 1896, p. 232 f.

found none directly connected with the history of Damascus.

After the rebuilding by Djarrāḥ, the masdjid was converted into a djāmi' by malik al-ashraf Mūsā b. al-'Ādil, in 631.[36] (Ibn Shaddād) Ibn al-Kathīr and others report the same.[37] A few years later, in 642, under malik al-Ṣāliḥ Isma'īl, the djāmi' was destroyed by fire during the siege of Damascus by Mu'īn al-Dīn b. al-Shaikh. The building was restored by the Emir Mudjāhid al-Dīn Muhammad b. Emir Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Ghars al-Dīn Ḳilidj al-nūrī, in 652.

The siege is that by the Khwārizmians. According to 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, the mosque suffered by fire once more in 974, and the money was collected for its restoration at his time.

Sauvaire gives the translation of an inscription, No. 436 of his list, no longer existing, which

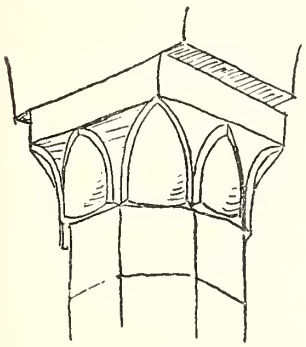


Fig. 9—Capital

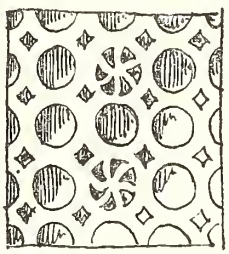


Fig. 10—Window

Figs. 9 and 10—Damascus Djāmi' al-Djarrāḥ

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dates the reconstruction by the Emir Mudjāhid al-Dīn al-Malikī al-Nāṣirī in the year 648, under the reign of malik al-nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn (II).[38]

Another inscription not copied is above one of the windows of the north portico.

Inscription 54

On the pair of small columns in the mihrab, *A* right, *B* left, very small characters.

A 1. بسمله — — — 2. جدّد هذين العمود 3. ين إبتغاء مرضاة الله 4. الفقيرة الى الله تعالى 5. بلقيس بنت الحاجّ عبد 6. الرزّاق

B 1. اللهمّ يا رافع السما 2. بغير عمد ولامعين (؟) 3. اغفر لأمتك الحاجّة أمّ 4. علا الدين ولوالد 5. يها ولاولادها 6. امين 7. وصلى الله على محمّد 8. وآله

. . . the humble . . . Bilḳīs, daughter of the pilgrim 'Abd al-Razzāḳ has made anew these two columns, desiring Allah's satisfaction. O Allah, Thou that hast put up the sky without columns (Koran XIII, 2) and without help, pardon Thy slave, the pilgrim, mother of 'Alā al-Dīn, and her parents and her children. Amen!

The mosque is in good condition and seems to be wholly the work of one period, that of 648. The roof may have been renewed in 974. Antique window slabs of basalt have been reused (*Fig. 10*). The mihrab itself is old, and the columns must have been added or renewed long before 974 by the pious lady Bilḳīs.

Though reduced to a very small scale, the type is still that of the Great Mosque.

Djāmi' Yelbogha

(*Figs. 11, 18, 34–38*)

West of the horse market, on the Baradā, quarter Taḥt al-Ḳal'a.

Wulzinger and Watzinger stated: "Gegründet vom emîr Saif ed-Dîn Jalboghâ; 847 H. (1443) zu bauen begonnen. Sobernheim: 662!"

Finally, Sauvaget wrote:

Mosquée bâtie en 1264 [= 662] . . . restaurée en 1401 [= 803–4], puis en 1443 [= 846–47], par le gouverneur de Syrie Yelbogha (d'où le nom de l'édifice), puis à nouveau au XVIIIe s.[39]

The year 662 is a legitimate reading of an inscription wrongly painted over. The year 847 is an error committed by Nu'aimī (or his copy-

[36] *Ibid.*, 1896, p. 232 f.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 232 f, and 1894, p. 492 f.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 270.
[39] W.W., B 2, 3; Sauvaget, No. 39.

ist), who confounded the older Yelbogha (746–48) of his source with the younger governor who died in 848, and accepted by Sauvaire and, since, repeated.

In this year passed away Saif al-Dīn Yelbogha al-Yaḥyawī, lieutenant of Damascus. He was a good ruler. It is he who built the djāmi' which bears his name, Taḥt al-Ḳal'a, under the citadel, one of the finest mosques of Damascus. He died 13 Ramadan 748.[40]

Nabih Faris found for me the following passage in Ibn Ḥadjr al-Asḳalānī:

— Under malik al-Ṣāliḥ Isma'īl [the Mameluke], Yelbogha was nā'ib of Hama, then of Aleppo, then of Damascus; he built there the djāmi' on the Baradā.[41]

The main source is Ṣafadī,[42] of which the following is a summary:

al-amīr al-kabīr Saif al-Dīn Yelbogha al-Yaḥyawī, the cupbearer of malik al-Nāṣir, lieutenant of Hama, Aleppo, and Damascus, son of the Emir Ṭabṭa, killed at Ḳāḳūn [near Ramleh, post station on the road to Egypt] in the last third of Djumādā I, 748, was one of the greatest emirs and a favorite of malik al-nāṣir Muhammad [709–41]. His major domo told me: in a conversation in the presence of the sultan the sum of twenty thousand dinars was once mentioned, and Yelbogha said: "Sire, yā-khvand,[43] I have never seen so much gold in my life!" The sultan, afterward, ordered the cadi to send at once twenty thousand dinars to Yelbogha, with the bakhshīsh to be given to the bearers. Yelbogha, a great lover of horses, built the stable on the horse market, Taḥt al-Ḳal'a, of Cairo [near the Sultan Hasan mosque]. He was a great architect himself. With another emir he nursed the sultan during his last, deadly illness.

Under malik al-ṣāliḥ Isma'īl [743–46] he asked for and received the governorship of Hama, not much later that of Aleppo, at last that of Damascus. [His activity in Aleppo is testified by two inscriptions, on the door of the chamber of the khaṭīb in the Great Mosque, and on the ḳaṣṭal Shabāriḳ, both dated 746; his title is "Son Altesse illustre et haute"].

He entered Damascus the 12 Djumādā I, 746. Sultan malik al-Kāmil [746–47] tried to apprehend him and six other Syrian emirs; this caused a revolt ending in Kāmil's abdication. The successor, malik al-muẓaffar Ḥadjdjī [747–48] confirmed Yelbogha in his lieutenantship of Damascus. Yelbogha built there the Ḳubbat al-Naṣr at the Masdjid al-Ḳadam, a place he loved to go to; a Ḳaiṣarīya (market building) outside the Bāb al-Farādīs; two baths in Ḥakr al-'Anāba outside the Bāb al-Djābiya [of the Great Mosque]; and he started to build the djāmi' at the horse market on the Baradā in the beginning of the year 748 [April, 1347]. Three months later, 28 Rabī' II (July 7, 1347), the sultan demanded from him the seizure of the six emirs implicated in the conspiration against malik al-Kāmil. Yelbogha, instead of sending them, wrote back asking the sultan to pardon them. The sultan deposed him and ordered other emirs in Syria to apprehend him. He flew to Hama, was taken prisoner and strangled at Ḳāḳūn, at the date indicated. His head was sent to Hama, his body interred at Ḳāḳūn. He was young, his parents were still alive, and he left only small children.

Before leaving Damascus he had called the Shafiite cadi and constituted as waqf his whole real estate, mostly in favor of the mosque he had started to build, to the amount of sixty thousand dirhams (silver) yearly revenue. Allah be merciful to him!

Djāmi' Yelbogha, on the bank of the Baradā, under the citadel, well known, was built by the emir Saif al-Dīn Yelbogha. It had been the hill where the gallows stood. They started building in 847. Yelbogha was strangled at Ḳāḳūn, his head was sent to Cairo in 848.[44] (Nu'aimī)

The error 847–48 for 747–48 is evident. Sauvaire adduced a long story about the death of the later governor Yelbogha, who died in 848, about sixty years old, after a long illness, at Damascus.[45] None of the details fits the short presentation of Nu'aimī.

Inscription 55

On long wooden panels on the three sides of

[40] MS Ar. Berlin 9856, fol. 244b.
[41] *Al-Durar al-Kāmina* (Hyderabad, 1300), IV, 437.
[42] MS Ar. Berlin, fol. 170a–171b, Sobernheim's copy.
[43] Khvand from old-Iran. hvāvant, a derivation of the pronoun third person singular, used already in the gatha of Zoroaster as polite form of address; must have been the style of the Seljuk court, whence it spread to the west.
[44] *J.A.*, 1896, p. 236.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 271.

the northern of the three deep recesses in the east side of the prayer hall, under the muḳarnas vault; one line, large letters:

(r.) وصلى على سيّدنا محمّد خاتم النبيّين وعلى (m.) آله وازواجه الطيّبين الطاهرين بتاريخ رجب الفرد سنة اثنين وستّين وسبعمائة (l) بسمله — — — إنّما يعمر مساجد لله من آمن بالله

Basmala . . . (Koran IX, 18), and benediction of the prophet, . . . at the date of Radjab 762.

The panels are wrongly arranged: the left one is the beginning, the right and the middle one are the continuation, hence the panels are not *in situ*. The wood is damaged where the hundreds stand (*Fig. 35*), the entire inscription is painted over, and the head of the *'ain* has been left out: what looks like six, is seven. I reproach myself for not having checked sufficiently the tens and units, but, judging from a good photograph, it is improbable that "two and sixty" should have been painted over an original "eight and forty." The inscription contains no hint of its author and seems to belong to work done after the founder's tragic end, from the rich waqf, under the reign of Sultan Muhammad (762–64).

Inscription 56

Very large frieze in plaster (*Figs 36–38*) over the whole length of both south and north walls of the prayer hall, entire length about 150 m.; badly painted over; ending in the southeastern corner of the room without extending into the recess in the side wall. The end is:

جدّد هذا المسجد المبارك فى أيّام مولانا ملك الامراء كافل الممالك الشاميّة نوروز أعزّه الله بنظارة المقرّ السيفى اينال دوادار المشار اليه اعزّ الله نصره بمبا | شرة المجلس؟ الشامى | العلاى الدين | العرى؟ اثابه | الله فى الدنيا والآخرة | عمل الفقير الى؟ الله

From bimubāsharat on, in five short lines above each other, crowded letters, wrongly painted.

Above al-mamālik-dawādār on the upper border of the frieze, whitewashed and almost illegible, is the signature of the master:

عمل العبد الفقير عمران بن مهدى • • • الـ • • •

This blessed mosque (masdjid) has been built at the period of our lord the malik al-umarā', viceroy of the kingdoms of Syria, Nawrūz . . . under the inspection of His Excellency Saif al-Dīn Īnāl, dawādār (ink-bearer) of the above-mentioned . . . by the action of the Syrian council (?) . . .

"work of the humble . . . 'Amrān b. Mahdī . . . al- . . ."

Inscription 57

Over the door of the minaret, south side, three lines:

1. جدّد عمارة هذا الجامع المعمور بذكر الله تعالى وقبّبه وارواقه وبياضه مولانا ملك الامراء كافل المملكة الشاميّة تنبك 2. الظاهرىّ اعزّ الله أنصاره من ماله بنظر المقرّ الشمسىّ سنفر الزمام أحسن الله اليه ونظر فى حال السادة المؤذّنين و ستقرّ أن 3. لكلّ مؤذّن منهم فى الشهر مبلغ ستّين درهم موافقه بما شرط الواقف رحمه الله فى سنة أحد وثمانمائة فمن بدله — — — Koran II, 7 يبدلونه

Our lord the malik al-umarā', viceroy of the kingdom of Damascus, Tanbak al-ẓāhirī has made anew the building of this djāmi' in which the name of Allah shall be praised, and of its vaults and halls and plasterwork, . . . from his own fortune, under the inspection of His Excellency Shams al-Dīn Sonḳor al-zimām . . . (follow stipulations of the waqf concerning the mu'adhdhins of the mosque) in the year 801.

Nawrūz al-Ḥāfiẓī was nā'ib of Damascus from 809 till, I believe, 817. There are many Īnāls, one of them, Īnāl al-Salāmī, perhaps the dawādār of Nawrūz, died at Aleppo in 817–18. A Tanbak appears in 820, under whose lieutenantship the repair of the madrasa al-Djawzīya was completed; and in 826 the nā'ib al-salṭana Tanbak was buried in the turba al-Tanbakmaḳīya, Tanbak-mīḳ being his full name. The

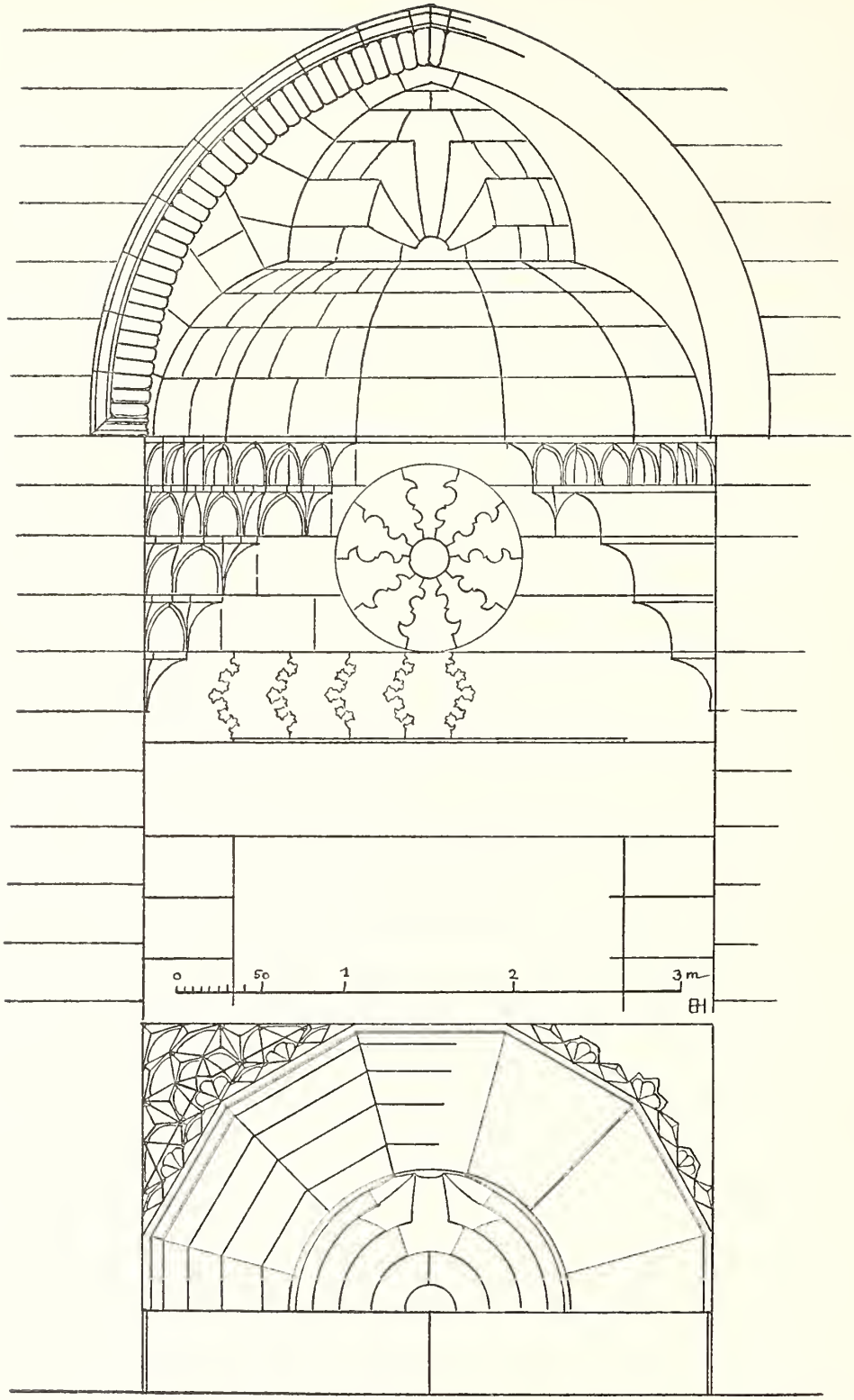


FIG. 11—DAMASCUS, DJĀMI' YELBOGHA, ELEVATION OF PORTAL

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date is somewhat late for identifying them; twenty-five years of governorship would be rare, and that of Nawrūz would interrupt it. Yet it is possible, and I cannot get myself to search the many and bombastic chronicles of that period, in which one would certainly find biographies of all concerned.

Archeologically, one can take the two inscriptions as representing one and the same period. The minaret inscription, probably a few years older than the interior inscription, speaks explicitly of the mu'adhdhins, but not of the minaret, and instead of it of the djāmi' as a whole, its vaults, porticoes, and especially the stucco decoration, whereas the inner inscription only refers to its special subject, the prayer hall. Hence, the two belong together, the general one being placed on the minaret, the special one on the interior decoration, which was the last thing to be finished of a work that certainly took years to accomplish.

But the foundations must have been laid in 748 and, if the date 762 is right, the construction must have gone on for a while, paid from the large annual income of its waqf. The absolute regularity of the plan in which everything is well considered, is the work of an architect working on an area entirely free of buildings, the empty "gallows' hill." Every deviation would be visible. The first plan was carried out.

The halls around the courtyard, which measures 60 by 42 m., are occupied by modern buildings and could not be explored. The three gates of the court are disposed as those of the Umayyad Mosque, also the minaret to the right of the north entrance. The gates themselves are of different periods; the west gate (*Figs. 11* and *34*)[46] may belong to the first period of 748–62. The prayer hall, 67.2 by 12.3 m., originally had three naves, clearly indicated by the three deep recesses in the side walls, hence two arcades parallel to the south wall. The middle one (5 m.) is perceptibly larger than the outer two (less than 3 m.). Broad pilasters in the north and south wall, distant 12.2 m., that is, exactly the width of the whole hall, define a square in the middle and clearly indicate an original dome over the center. This central part opens on the court by three doors, the middle one slightly the larger; the two lateral arcades must have ended at the cupola in two pairs of piers corresponding to the piers between the three doors. Thus, the virtual

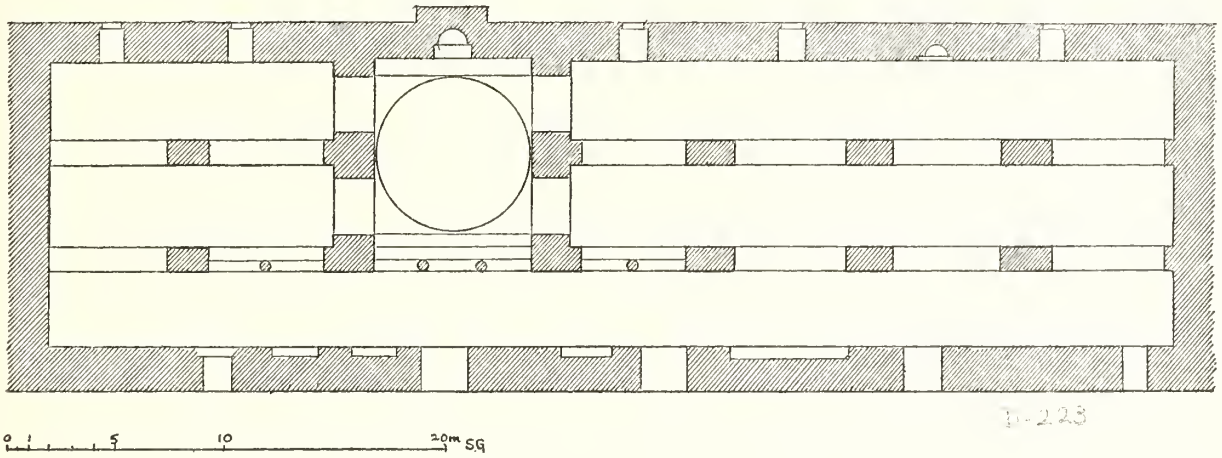


FIG. 12—MARDIN, ULU DJĀMI', PLAN (MEASURED BY S. GUYER)

[46] Cf. also J. Bourgoin, *Précis de l'art arabe* . . . (Paris, 1892), Pl. XLII under the wrong name "porte de la mosquée Tobi."

octagon was reached, and the cupola rose above it in the usual way. The arcade that roughly cuts through the whole length of the hall today, is the repair of the eighteenth century, made after the cupola had crumbled.

This last of my examples reveals once more the idea of the Umayyad Mosque. The main accent is laid on the vast dome, which replaces the transept. Since it was the usual type of dome with octagonal transition, the octagon was projected into the plan and determined the different widths of the three lateral naves: the middle nave has the same measure as the side of the octagon, the two side naves that width × cos. 45°. In the Umayyad Mosque the slightly larger width of the middle nave has no such cause, since the entire dome over the transept is not wider than this nave. There, the motive for the difference can only have been regard for existing walls and foundations that had to be re-used. Here, the idea of the plan has been realized without pre-existing limitations. A well-defined type has been abstracted from a very individual old model. Yelbogha was "himself an architect," and his mosque was much and duly admired. Nu'aimī quotes a verse:

> Go to Damascus, turn toward its west
> and look at this fair and mighty mosque!
> Who says, I saw its equal among the mosques
> of other lands, speaks lightly!

All our Ayyubid examples of mosques seem clearly to lead to this solution of the problem. An intense study of a limited field is always apt to reveal entirely convincing developments, but self-imposed limitation is also deceiving. For there are no isolated fields in history and the phenomena are the effect of factors without number and of wide range. In this case, the Djāmi' Yelbogha is neither isolated nor the product of its late period. It is only in Damascus that the type is first attested by this mosque. In northern Jazira (Mesopotamia), a land closely related to Syria by historical traditions and natural conditions, one finds the type much earlier.

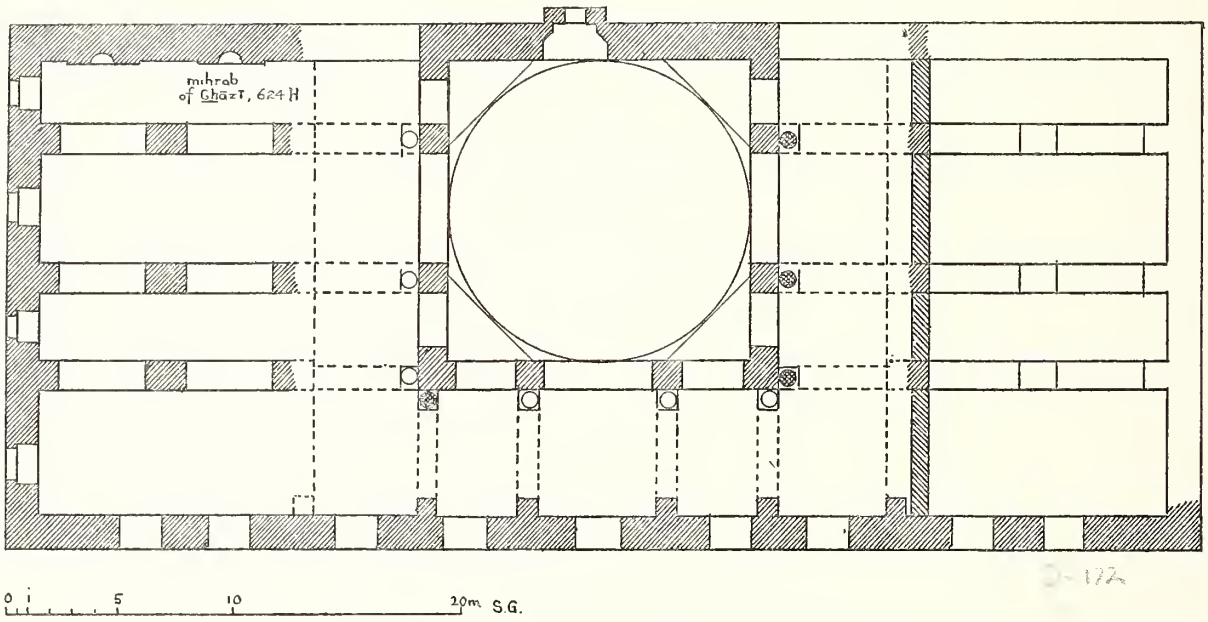


Fig. 13—Maiyāfāriḳīn, Ulu Djāmi', Plan (Measured by S. Guyer)

The Ulu Djāmi' (Great Mosque) of Mardin

Plan (*Fig. 12*) measured by Samuel Guyer in 1912.

An inscription on the minaret of that mosque, copied by M. v. Oppenheim and published by M. van Berchem [47] says that it was built by the Ortoḳid Ḳutb al-Dīn Ilghazi in 572 H. (1176–77 A.D.). There is no direct proof that the minaret and the mosque date from the same time, but I do not doubt it, the less so as my next example confirms it.

The plan looks as if subsequently extended to the west. It shows the heavier walls and piers generally used in Jazira to support heavier vaults. The north nave runs through the whole breadth of the building, the dome covers only the depth of the second and third naves. The first nave creates connection between the two wings, but thereby isolates the center almost completely.

Ulu Djāmi' of Maiyāfāriḳīn

Plan (*Fig. 13*) also taken by S. Guyer; studied at the same time by Gertrude Bell and published in her *Palace and Mosque at Ukhaiḍir*.[48] Miss Bell indicates more parts as actually standing than Guyer does, but I prefer the less complete plan, because the more complete one contains some highly problematical points.

A large Kufic inscription under the dome dates the building: the Ortoḳid Alpī, 547–73, father of Ḳutb al-Din Ilghazi of Mardin. The close relation between the two mosques mutually supports their dating. Miss Bell attributes the entire eastern wing to the Ayyubid Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī, 624 H., because he has signed the eastern mihrab in its south wall, and considers the western wing, inaccessible to Guyer, as a later substitute for an older structure of identical plan. It is true that Ghāzī made additions to the mosque, but the side wings are as essential a part of the whole as the center and must have existed under Alpī, unless the mosque remained unfinished at his death and was completed by Ghāzī only. For purposes of comparative study, this would make no difference.

As in Mardin, the northern nave runs through the whole breadth of the building. It sends out two perpendicular branches toward the south wall that embrace the center. Far from separating the central room from the two wings, this expedient creates more vistas and perspectives and results in a better connection of the parts. The antique columns, put against the wall piers and supporting vaults, are very "Mesopotamian" (compare the façades of the Great Mosque of Āmid-Diarbekr). The dome is so large that three naves run against it, and, just as in the Djāmi' Yelbogha, the dome over the octagon determines the greater width of the middle nave. Even the dimensions are the same as there: 5 m. and 5 m. × cos. 45°.

The Ulu Djāmi' at Van

This structure belongs to this peculiar group in its plan, though its fine and richly decorated brickwork connects it with the neighboring Azerbaijan (*Fig. 14*).

First described by H. F. B. Lynch: "Nobody could tell us when it had been constructed, nor when it fell into decay." [49] A detailed survey, with a plan, was made by W. Bachmann, who stated:

> Inschriften, die über die Zeit der Erbauung dieser Moschee Aufschluss geben könnten, sind nicht mehr vorhanden ausser den erwähnten zwei Zeilen, die aber auch nicht weiter führen.[50]

[47] M. van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien, und Kleinasien* (Leipzig, 1913), No. 100.

[48] *Palace and Mosque at Ukhaiḍir* (Oxford, 1914), plan, Pl. 92; part of the façade, Pl. 84, 3.

[49] *Armenia* (London, 1901), II, 106.

[50] *Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien und Kurdistan. Wissensch. Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orient Gesellsch.*, No. 25 (1913), 73.

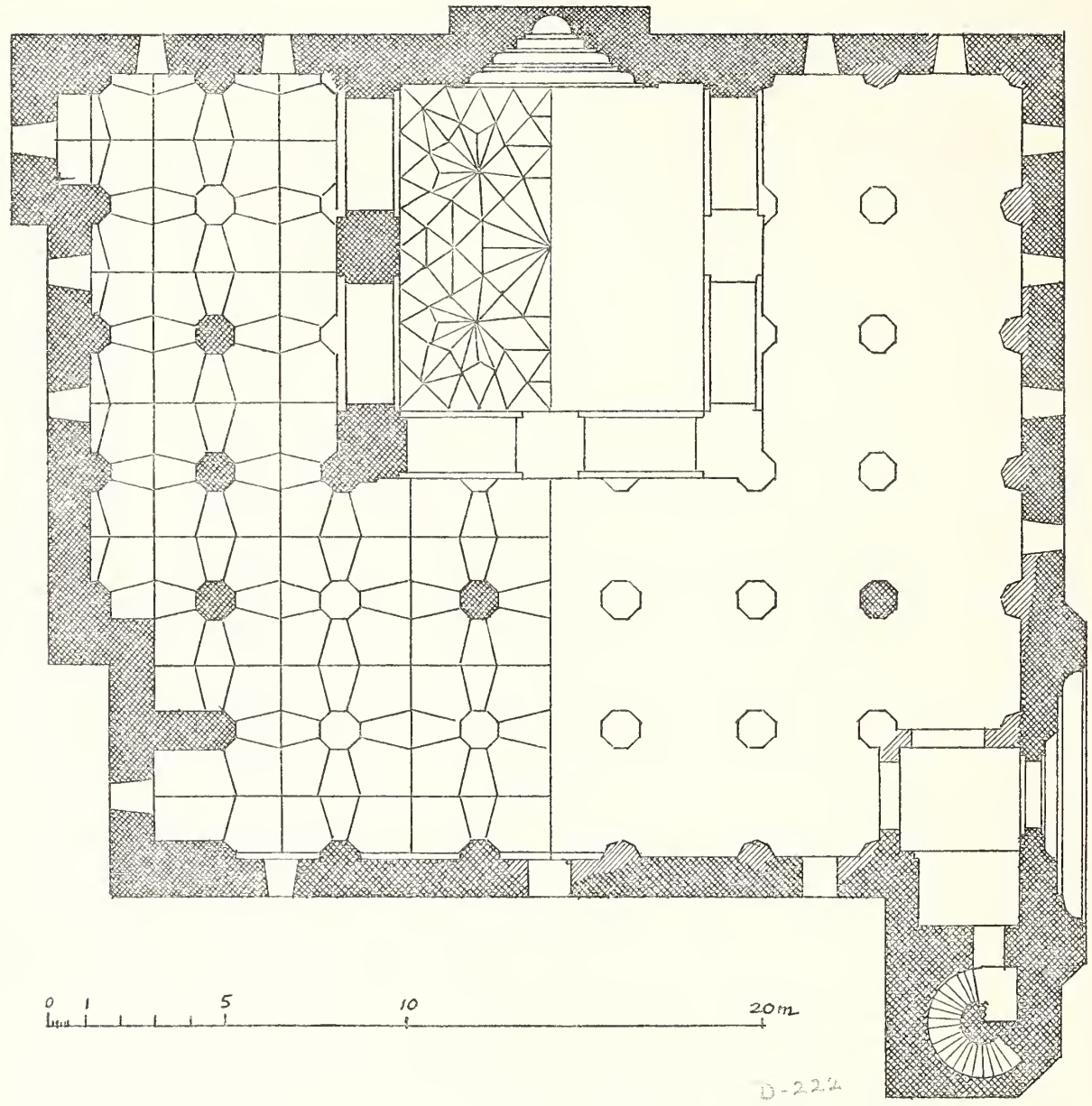


Fig. 14—Van, Ulu Djāmi', Plan

Inscription 58

Lynch [51] and Bachmann [52] show this inscription.

On the south wall, west of the mihrab, two lines, archaic Neskhi:

1. صفيّ الخلافة المعظّمة مجير الامامة مجد الم[ـ]عالى
وفلكها قاتل الكفرة والمشركين 2. قاهر الخوارج
والمتمرّدين قامع البدعة و الملحدين غياث المنظلمين مغيث
المظلومين ـ ـ ـ

The first half of this protocol is archaic and Ortokid, the second more advanced and Ayyu-

[51] Lynch, *op. cit.*, Fig. 132.
[52] Bachmann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 63.

bid. It can scarcely belong to one of the Ayyubids who ruled over Van in the beginning of the seventh century, but pertains rather to one of the last Arminshāh's of the second half of the sixth century. That date would, at the same time, explain the affinities with Azerbaijan, their homeland. But against the utterances quoted above, the two lines are only part of a long historical inscription, on the east wall under the cupola, visible, though illegible, on the photographs by Lynch [53] and Bachmann.[54]

The dome in front of the mihrab is an early example of the Iraqian group studied here at the beginning. Its plan is not an exact square, but is slightly deeper than broad, out of regard for the system of vaults that covers the other parts of the hall. Apart from the kiblah wall, the three walls supporting the dome have each two wide doors, which bring about the widest possible connection with the space around it. This space is covered by a regular system of cross vaults on octagonal pillars, seven naves wide and six deep. Their summit corresponds to the springing line of the cupola, but the wall space between the summit of the doors and the springing line of the dome makes the correspondence unperceivable. Compared with the arrangement in the two mosques in Jazira, here the depth of the room is increased, the width narrowed; instead of one nave running the whole length of the hall, three naves do so. The result is a much greater unification of the whole room; it is a step beyond the older plans. The three must be classified together as attempts in the same direction.

Blue Mosque of Tabriz [55]

This famous mosque built by the Ḳaraḳoyunlu Djihānshāh, 841–72, is a simplified version of the plan of the Ulu Djāmi' of Van. With its much reduced width, it is a rather unexpected end of these attempts and perhaps not typical in that respect. Nothing would prevent a lateral extention of the plan.

The two Mesopotamian monuments bring one close to the Seljuk priod. In Diarbekr, capital of Mesopotamia, stands the famous Great Mosque [56] with Malikshāh's inscription, dated 484, its plan being a very accurate copy of the Umayyad Mosque; the original plan of the Great Mosque of Aleppo was, likewise, a copy of that of Damascus. The mosque of Āmid has a large and high transept, but no cupola. The famous Ḳubbat al-Naṣr of al-Walīd over the transept at Damascus was restored, after the fire of 461, in 475 under the reign of Malikshāh, the viceroyship of Tutush, the government of Niẓām al-Mulk, by the vizier Abū Naṣr Ahmed.[57] Van Berchem is entirely right in saying: "J'incline à croire que . . . les travaux relatés par l'inscription se bornaient à de simples restaurations." The accent is on "restorations," not on "simple." Study of the Aleppo and other inscriptions has convinced me that the term "amara bi-'imāratihi," which, when supplied to a new construction, means simply "has ordered to build," means "repair" when applied to an existing building; the term for a complete replacing of an old building by a new one is "djaddada." The formula in the Malikshāh inscription implies that old parts were used and that the reconstruction followed the lines of the original building.

Malikshāh's brother Tutush added, in 487, the minaret to the Aleppo Mosque, at that time still the true image of the Umayyad Mosque.

[53] Lynch, *op. cit.* Fig. 131.

[54] Bachmann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 92.

[55] F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst* (Berlin, 1910), Fig. 21 (reproduced from Coste).

[56] M. van Berchem, J. Strzygowski and G. Bell, *Amida* . . . (Leipzig-Paris, 1910), inscription 18, Pl. VIII; cf. plan in Bell, *op. cit.*, Pl. 90.

[57] "Inscriptions arabes de Syrie," *Mém. Instit. Égyptien*, 1897, Chap. 4.

Niẓām al-Mulk, the grand vizier, and Tādj al-Mulk, the minister of the court of Malikshāh—the one who in 479 accompanied the sultan to Aleppo and built there the Maḳām Ibrāhīm at Ṣāliḥīn—have signed the two domes in the Great Mosque of Isfahan.

Niẓām al-Mulk's mosque, or madrasa, irrelevant in this respect, at Khargird has no cupola, but only a huge īwān cutting right through the lateral wings to the kiblah wall. This is the pre-Seljuk type of an Iranian mosque, as attested by Damghan, Nā'īn, Nīrīz. It combines the Iranian cruciform plan with the still earlier type, the simple hypostyle hall of the large 'askar mosques of Kufa, Baghdad, Samarra, Fusṭāṭ. When a quarter or a half mile long, these are impressive by the overwhelming feeling of immensity they convey; but reduced to small scale they are prosaic. Variations inside the type show the endeavor to overcome an inconvenience which the old Iranian architects already must have encountered when building their enormous hypostyle halls: even the slimmest supports of a flat roof, when there are hundreds of them, close together in perspective like walls, not only impede the vision, but affect the practicability of the room. When vaults are used and the size of the supports cannot be reduced, the appearance of such a room becomes unbearable. The governor Aḳsonḳor, inspecting the reconstructed mosque of Aleppo, put this feeling into the words: "It is a stable that you have built!" The more one dimension predominates, the more these mosques become stables.

The architect must make an organism of such an amorphous room, must introduce wide vaults and vaults of different span and height, in order to accentuate the material and spiritual center and to subordinate to it the less important parts. The danger in doing so is that he might dismember the unit.

Introducing the four-īwān plan, to which the Persians were accustomed of old, was a good idea and the right thing. The disadvantage was that the heavy side walls of the barrel vaults, perpendicular to the kiblah wall, completely separated the lateral wings. Thus, introducing a third element, the dome behind the iwan, means a step toward better organization, toward avoidance of the dissection of the original hall. The idea was suggested by the knowledge of the Ḳubbat al-Nasr of the Great Mosque of Damascus. It was the more convincing, as an analogous combination of īwān and cupola existed of old and was, as proved by the Ghiyāthīya at Khargird, still a living force at that time (viz., the īwān and cupola of the public and private audience halls of the Sasanian palaces).

During the Seljuk period, the architects struggled with this idea, as in the great mosques of Isfahan, Gulpaigan, and others, but they achieved no real and lasting solution, mainly because they used īwāns and domes of a size out of any proportion with that of the lateral rooms. Only at the Mongol period was a solution found.

Masdjid-i-djum'a, Warāmīn [58]

South of Teheran and Rayy.

Inscription 59

Over the main gate, translated, without reproducing the text, by M. Hartmann.[59] In 1923 it was reduced to:

١. ذكر القد [يم اعلى و ـ ـ ـ أمر بعمارة هذا
الجامع المبارك فى أيّام؟ ا]لسلطان المعظّم خاقان الاعظم
٢. مالك رقاب الأ[مم مولى سلاطين العرب والعجم
ابو سعيد بهادر خان خلّد الله سلطانه ال]عبد الضعيف
محمّد بن محمّد
٣. بن منصور القو ـ ـ رى تقبّ[ل الله ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ
٠ ٠ فى] شهور [سنة] ٢٢ [٧]

The sultan is Abū Sa'īd, son of Oldjaitu, the date 722 H. (1323 A.D.). I have not discovered, in literature, the founder Muhammad b. Mu-

[58] Sarre, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–64, with B. Schulz's plan, Fig. 68.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 63, see Fig. 71.

hammad b. Manṣūr, and am as unable as Hartmann was, to interpret his nisba or surname.

Inscription 60

Under the large dome over the prayer hall, above the mihrab, large frieze, on all four sides, Koran LXII, 1–7, ending in the southeastern corner, where the date stands:

سنة ٧٢٦

Year 726

The date shows, as Sarre rightly foresaw, that the entire building belongs to Abū Sa'īd. It took four years to build up to a height including the greater part of the vaults, and for my purpose it is unnecessary to determine the extent of the "completion" (tummima) by Shāhrokh's vizier Yūsufkhwādja, of which his two inscriptions on the entrance to the great dome give the date as Muḥarram 845 (May-June, 1441).

Inscription 61

Signature of the master on a pier in the east hall, in Persian:

عمل علی قزوینی خدائش بیامرزاد

Work of Ali of Kazvin, God be merciful to him!

One may call this plan classical. There is no mosque in Persia where such an equilibrium has been accomplished. It was done by flattening the īwān, reducing the number, but increasing the size of the lateral naves to such an extent that they make themselves felt as essential parts of the whole. The four īwāns and the cupola dominate, but do not crush completely the older element, the hypostyle halls around the court. The master is from Kazvin, and this mosque of Warāmīn may be taken as representing a northwest Iranian type.

In Isfahan this type was not accepted, but the Safawid architects proceeded in the direction indicated by the mosque of Malikshāh and created in their Masdjid-i-Shāh on the Maidān a new type in which the īwān and dome group is further developed. The domes with their īwān façades stand like towers, vertical elements, between the low horizontal extensions. Instead of the parts being adjusted and equalized, the main parts are overaccentuated. The inferior side wings are badly connected with them, and the original unit of the whole plan is finally destroyed by the introduction of open courts in the corners. Only the much increased space covered by the domes balances these losses. It is a totally different conception of the mosque, reflecting a difference in Sunnite and Shiite rituals.

Of the three phases: hypostyle halls, halls with four īwāns, and with īwāns and cupola, the first has been reduced to insignificance. Just as with the Hellenistic elements at the end of the Sasanian period, in the Safawid period the Arabic constituent of the mosque is almost eliminated, and the two Iranian features added to it are preponderant. It has become entirely Iranian.

But the domed mosque of Mesopotamia was not the result of an idea radiating from Iran, and less so were the domed mosques of Damascus. The Seljuk mosques of Persia are a parallel attempt at solving the same problem. The two are not affiliated; they go different ways. Their similarity is confined to the introduction of the dome. This was brought about by the intersection of two chains of causes, a process similar to that which wrought in the evolution of the madrasa or the pointed arch. One cause is the existence and perpetual effect of the Ḳubbat al-Nasr of the Umayyad Mosque. The other is the growing necessity of turning to vaulting. And the occasion was given by the expansion of the Seljuk empire over the whole of Syria, and the exchange of ideas it entailed.

The problem as a whole is analogous to that with which the Christian architects struggled till they found the solution in the perfect *Vierungsgewölben* of their Gothic cathedrals, or in the great domes of Florence and Rome. But their task was easier. The basilica extends from entrance to choir in longitudinal direction; when cruciform, it has a natural center in the crossing of the naves. The mosque extends laterally; one enters it at the main point of interest. The

church allows inside its space gradual preparation and augmentation of effect to a climax. The mosque can prepare only by the court that separates the sanctuary from the outer world. That is the idea of the antique temenos. The prayer hall, itself a broad room without depth, admits no crescendo of effect, all the architect can do is to avoid too great a decrescendo from its center to the sides. It was very late, but when the Turks saw the Hagia Sophia, they abandoned all attempts made previously by Muhammedan architects and took over the Western idea.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY BONFILS







PHOTOGRAPHS BY BONFILS

FIG. 15—DAMASCUS, GREAT MOSQUE, COURT

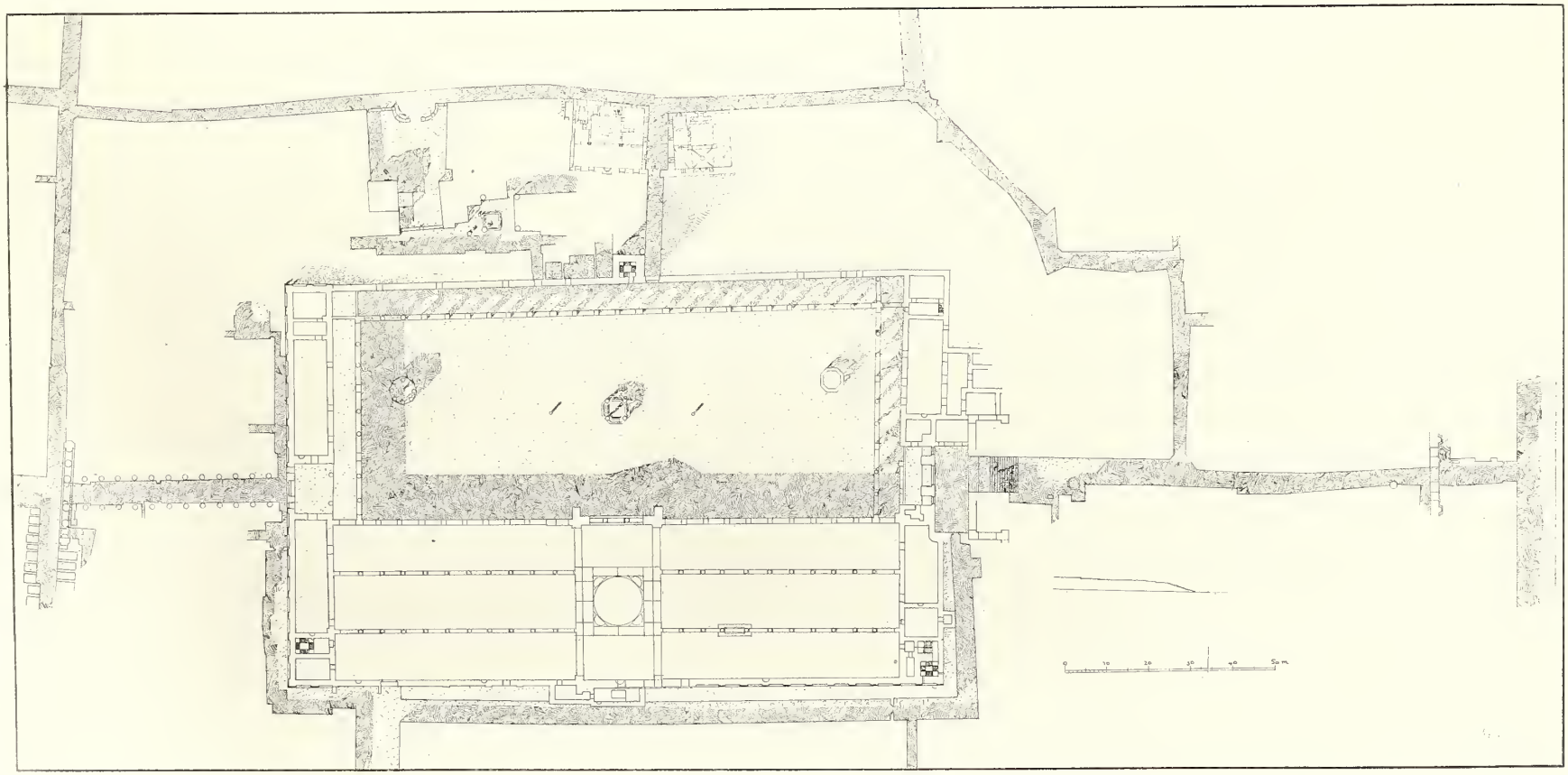


FIG. 16—DAMASCUS, GREAT MOSQUE, PLAN

D-119

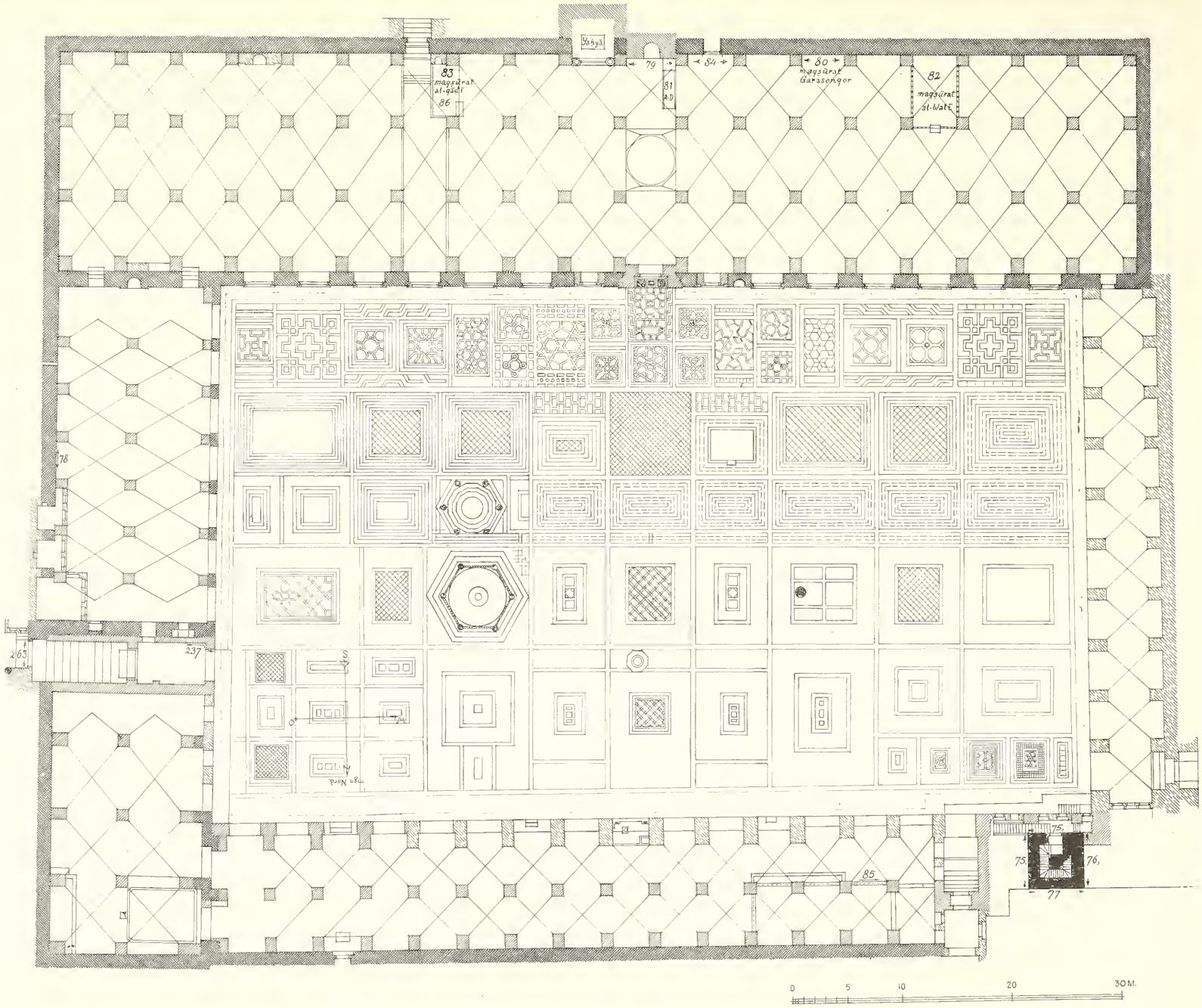


FIG. 17—ALEPPO, GREAT MOSQUE, PLAN

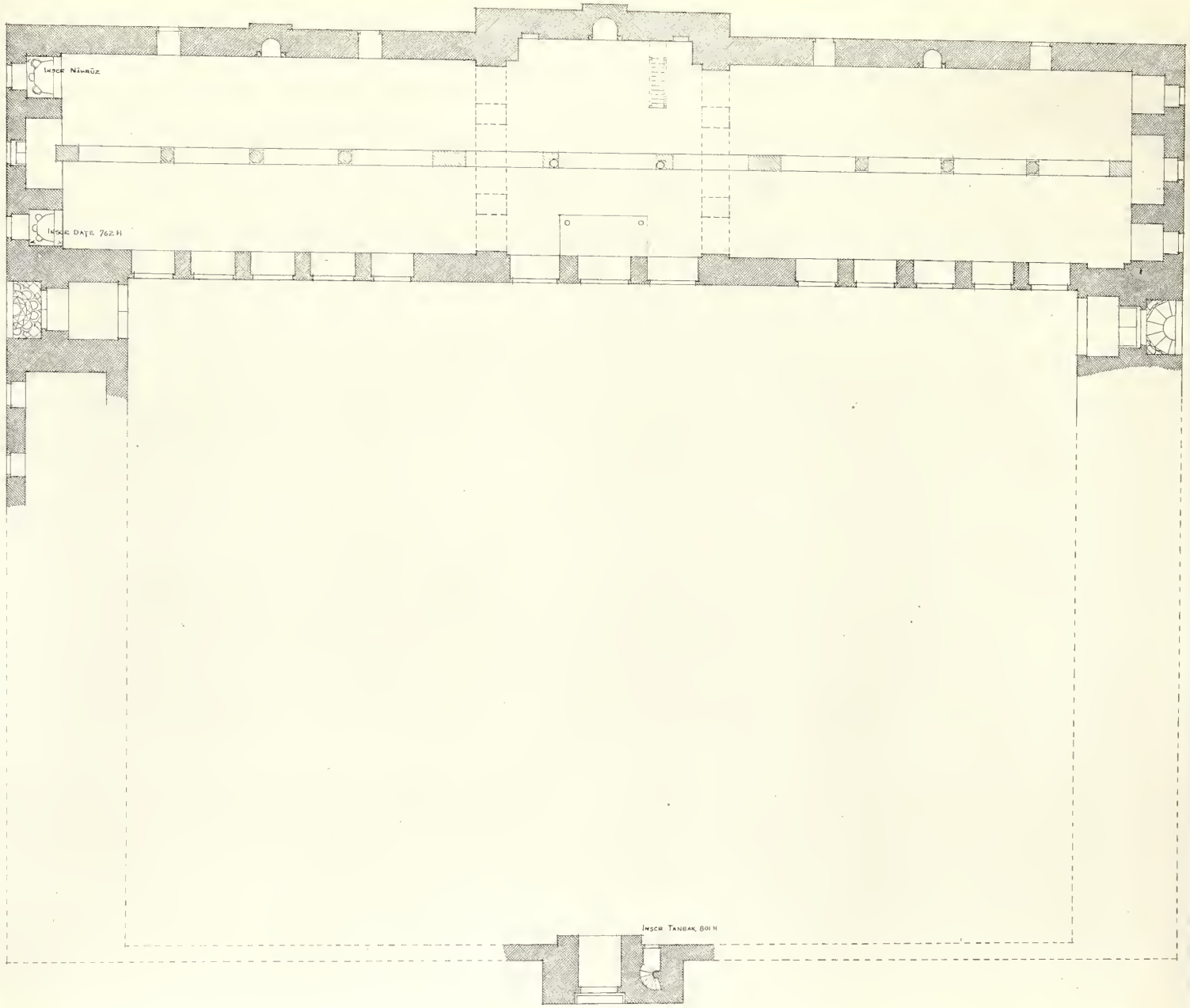


Fig. 18—Damascus, Djāmi' Yelbogha, Plan

D-120

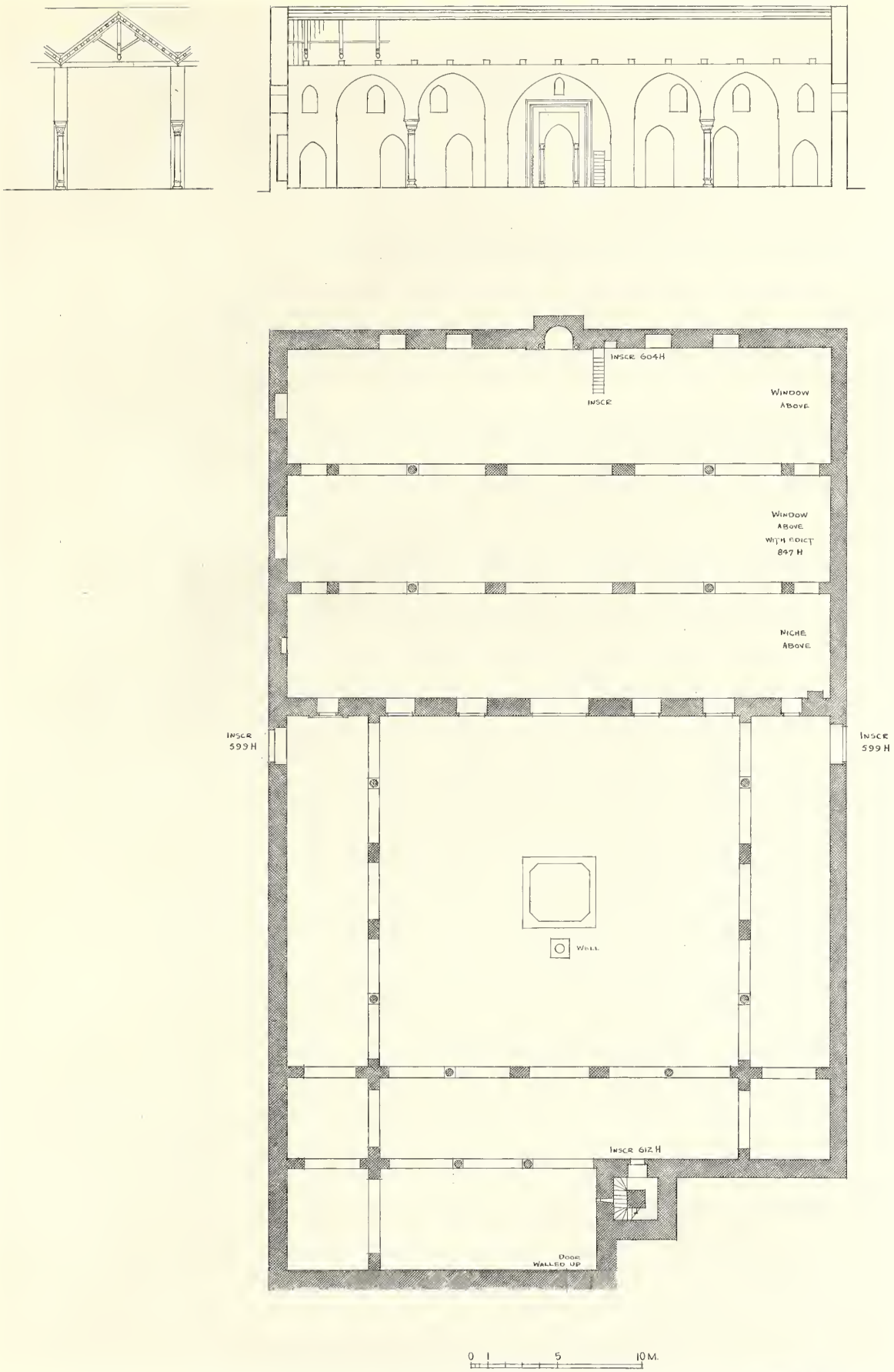


FIG. 19—DAMASCUS, ṢĀLIḤĪYA, DJ̲ĀMIʿ AL-ḤANĀBILA, PLAN

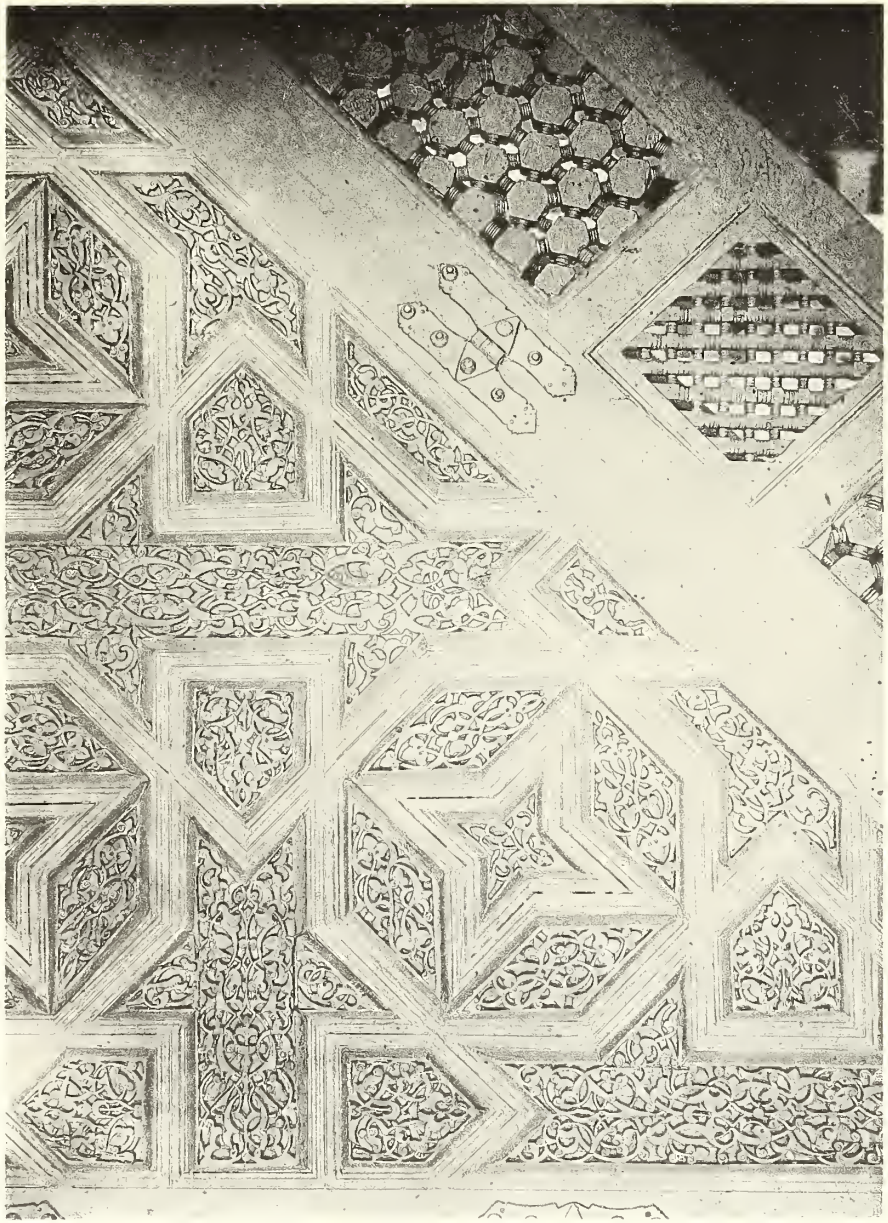


Fig. 20



Fig. 21

Figs. 20-21—Damascus, Ṣāliḥīya, Djāmiʿ al-Ḥanābila, Court



Neg. No. 2844

FIG. 22—MIMBAR (DETAIL)

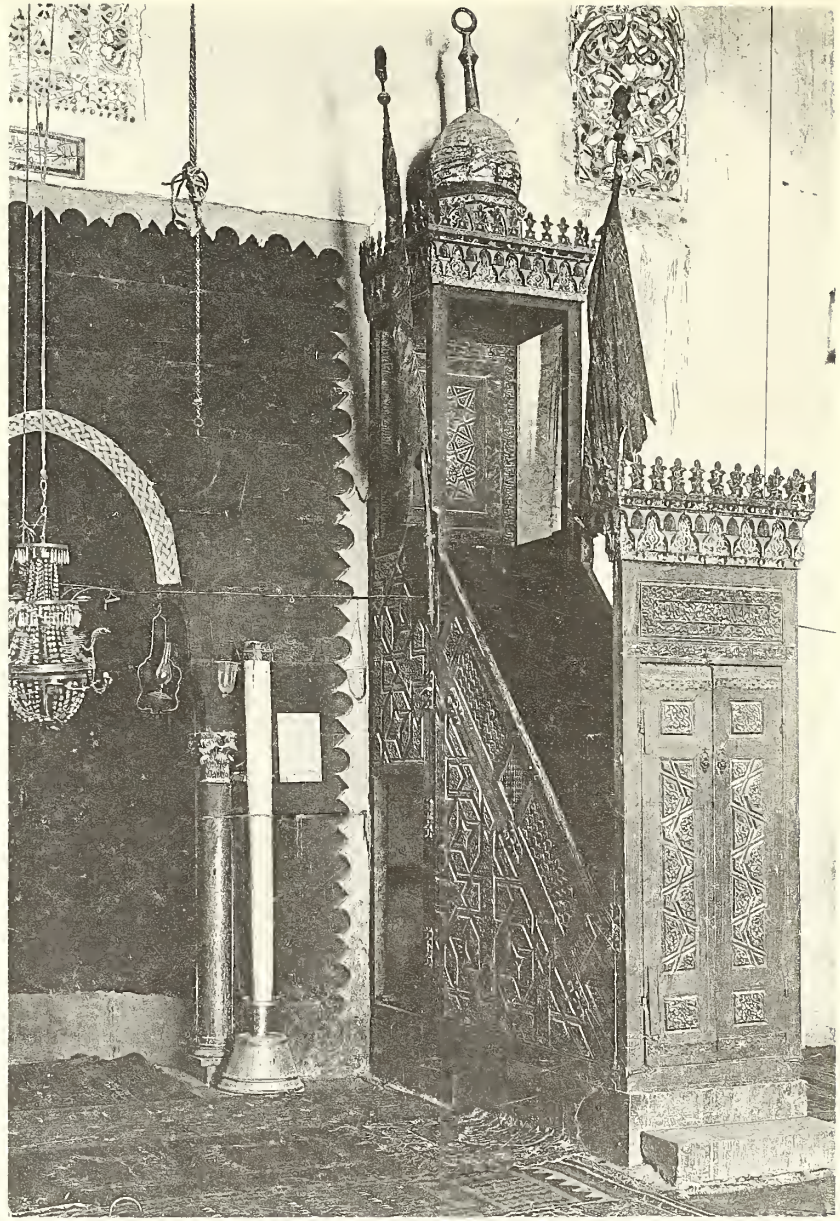


FIG. 23—MIHRAB AND MIMBAR

FIGS. 22–23—DAMASCUS, ṢĀLIḤĪYA, DJ̲ĀMIʿ AL-ḤANĀBILA

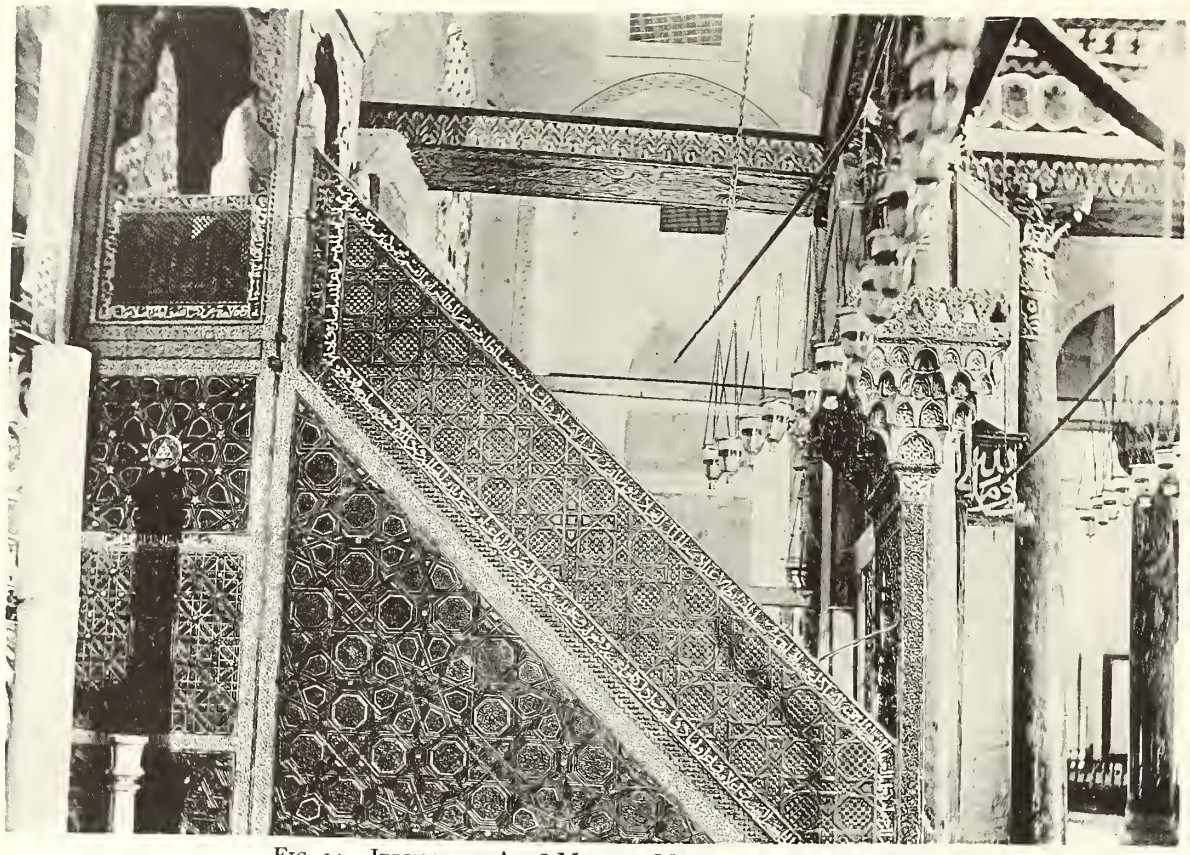


FIG. 24—JERUSALEM, AḲṢĀ MOSQUE, MIMBAR OF NŪR AL-DĪN Neg. No. 3455

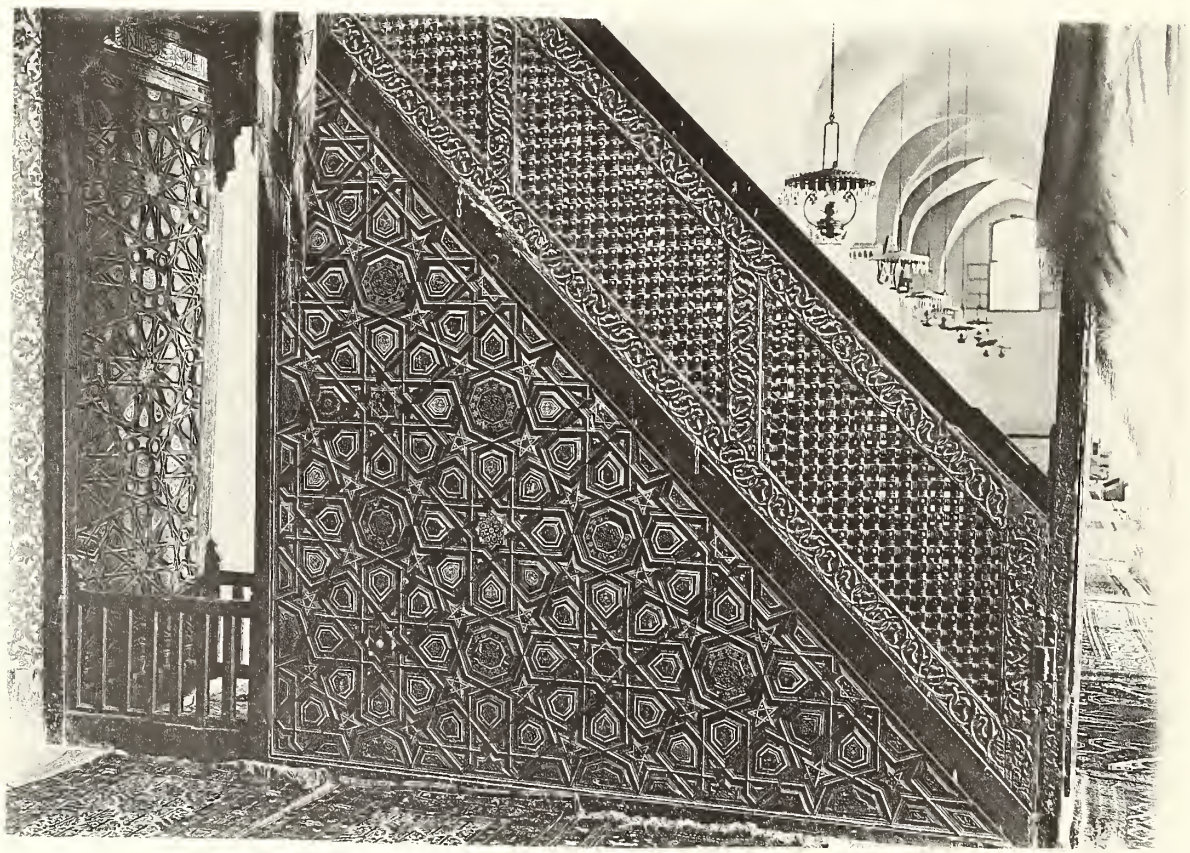
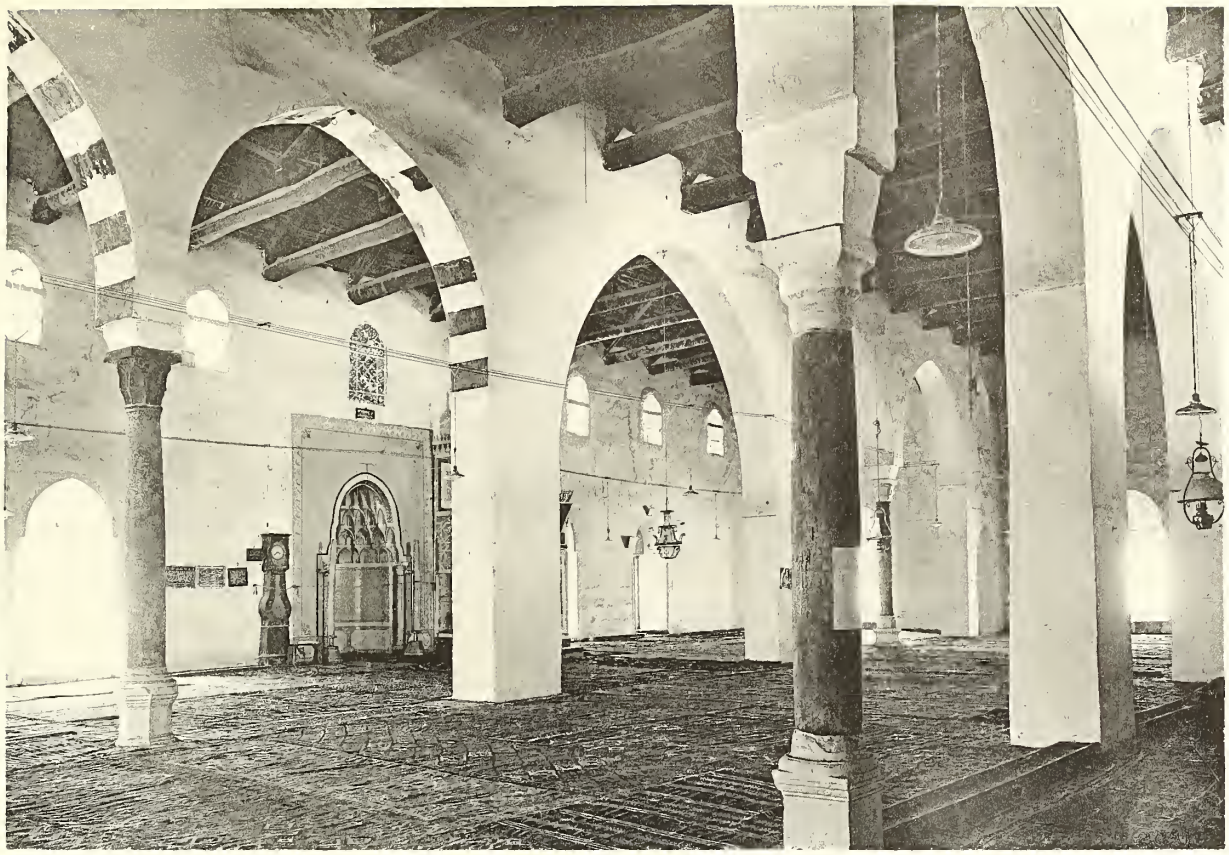


FIG. 25—ALEPPO, GREAT MOSQUE, MIMBAR OF ḲARASONḲOR Neg. No. 3629



Neg. No. 2841

FIG. 26—ṢĀLIḤĪYA, DJ̲ĀMIʿ AL-ḤANĀBILA



Neg. No. 2753

FIG. 27—DJ̲ĀMIʿ AL-AḲṢĀB

FIGS. 26-27—DAMASCUS, MOSQUE INTERIORS

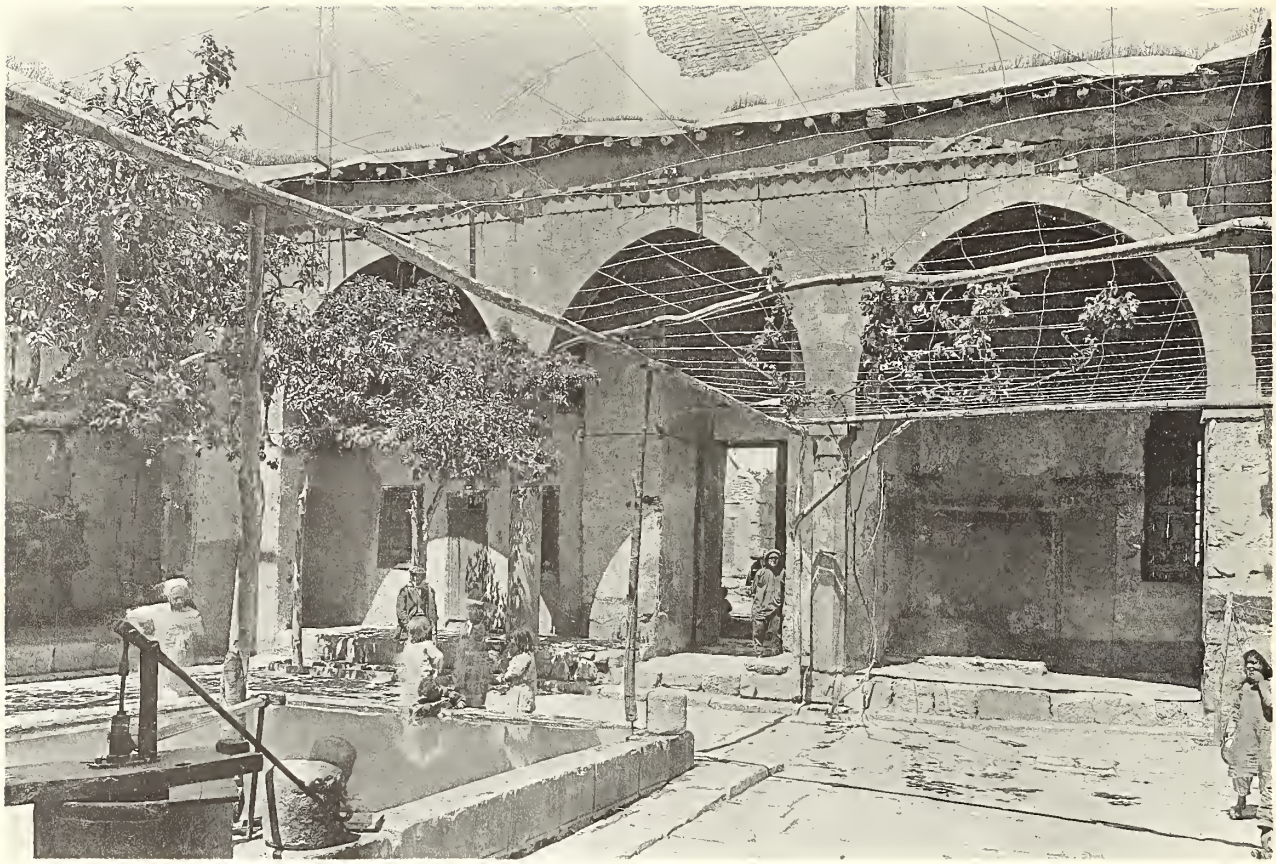


FIG. 28—COURT

Neg. No. 2808

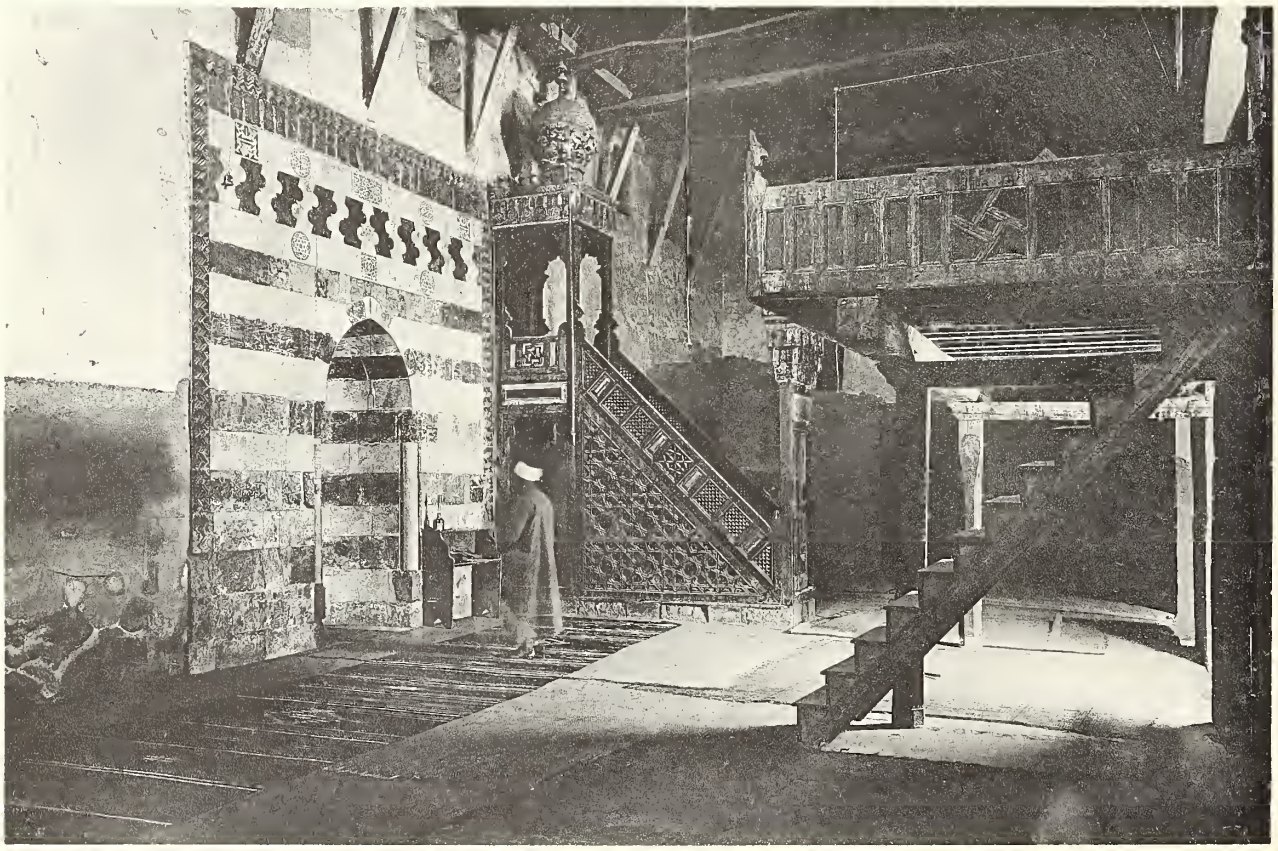


FIG. 29—INTERIOR

Neg. No. 2805

FIGS. 28-29—DAMASCUS, DJĀMI' AL-DJARRĀḤ

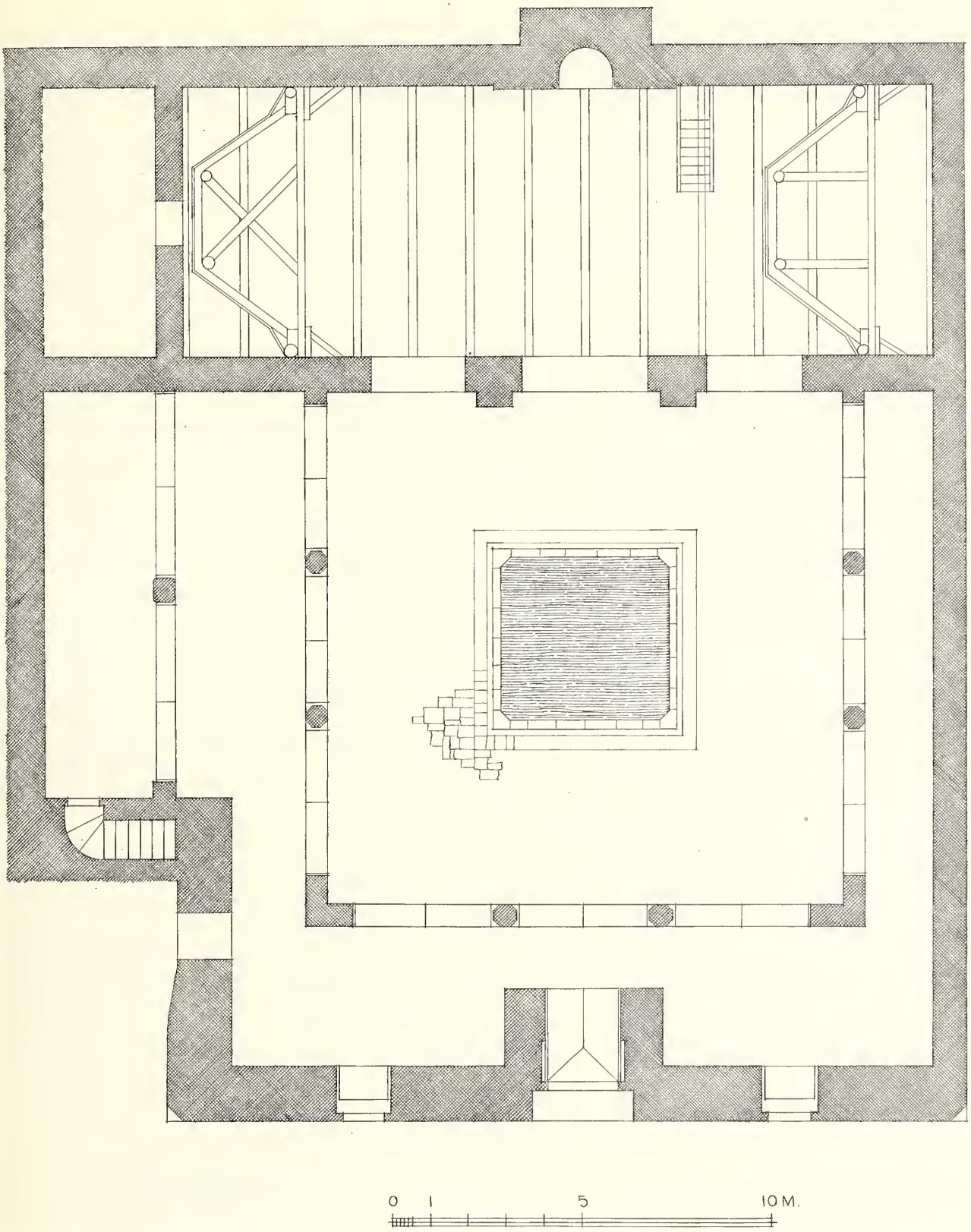


Fig. 30—Damascus, Djāmi' al-Tawba, Plan

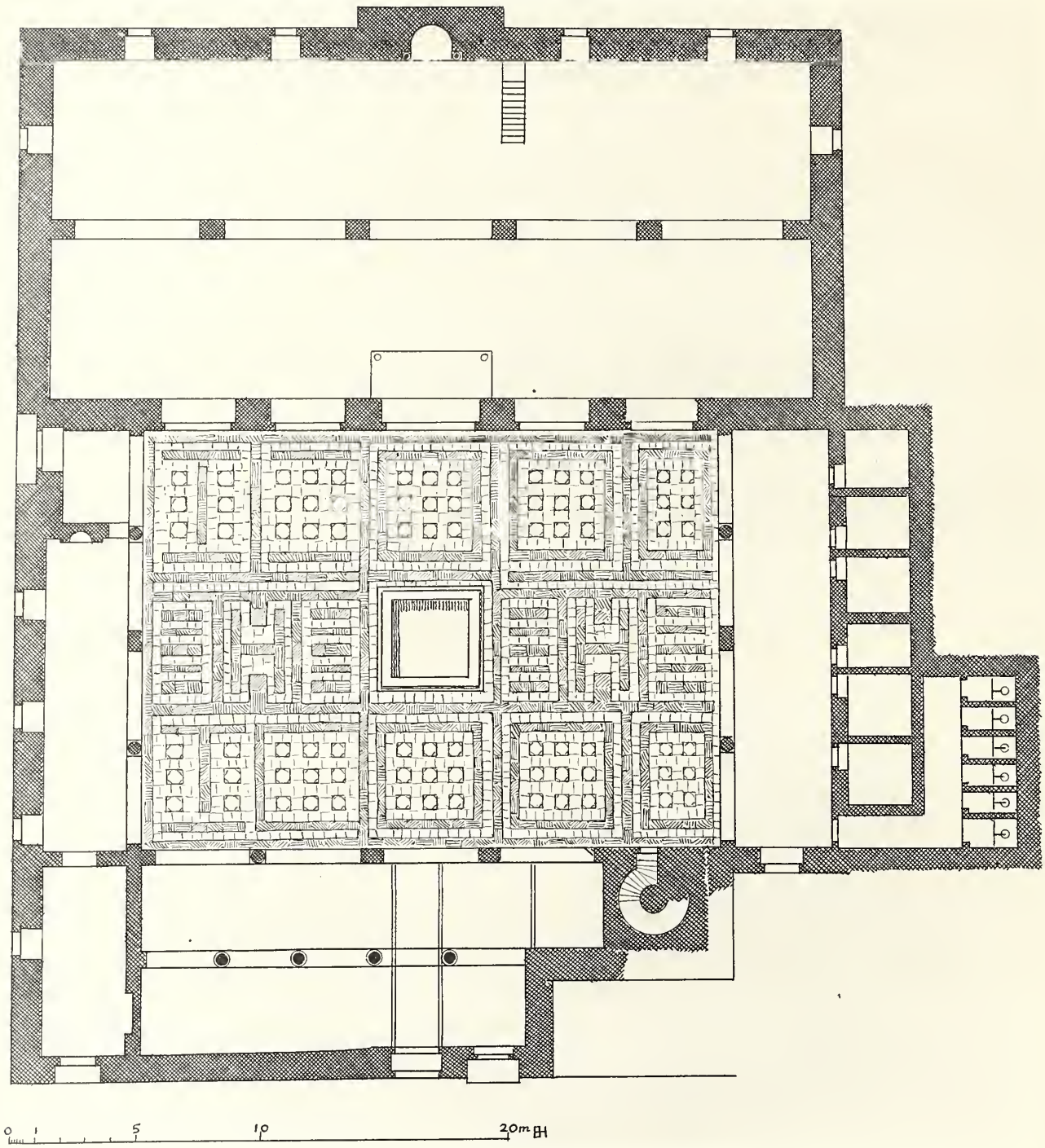
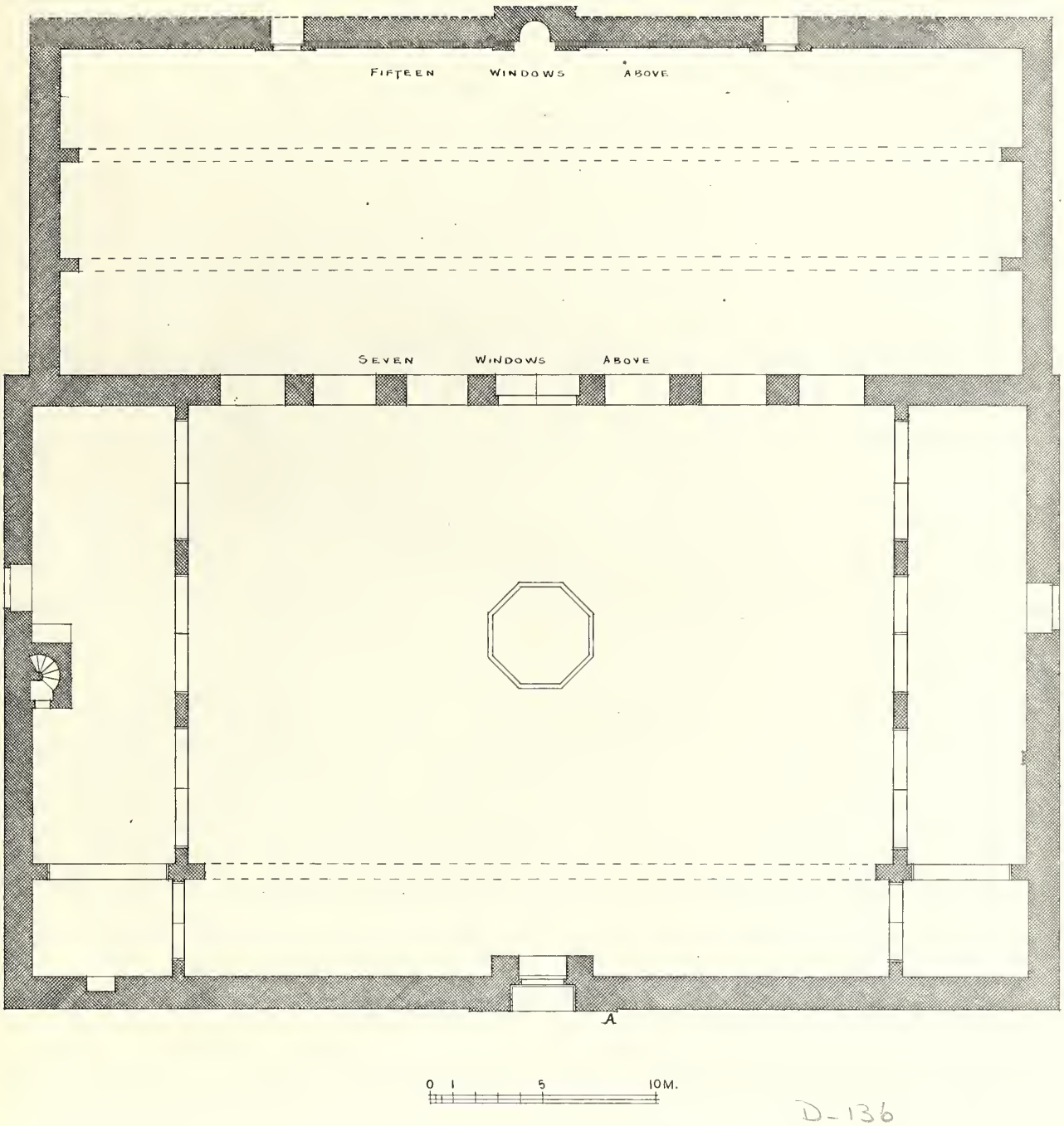


FIG. 31—DAMASCUS, DJĀMI' AL-AḲṢĀB, PLAN

D-135



D-136

FIG. 32—DAMASCUS, DJĀMI' AL-AḤMAR, PLAN

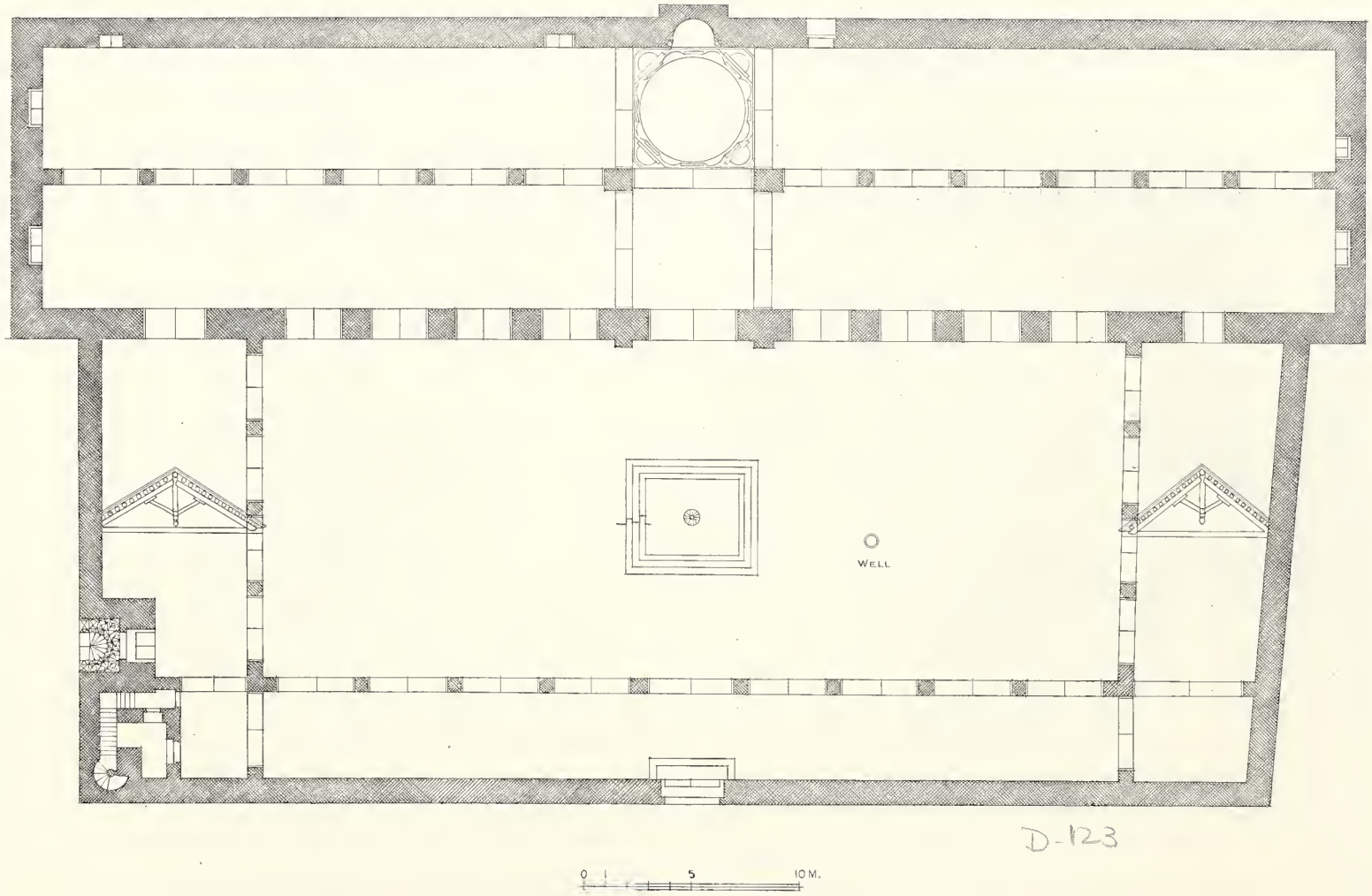


FIG. 33—DAMASCUS, DJĀMI' AL-TAWBA, PLAN



Neg. No. 2848

FIG. 34

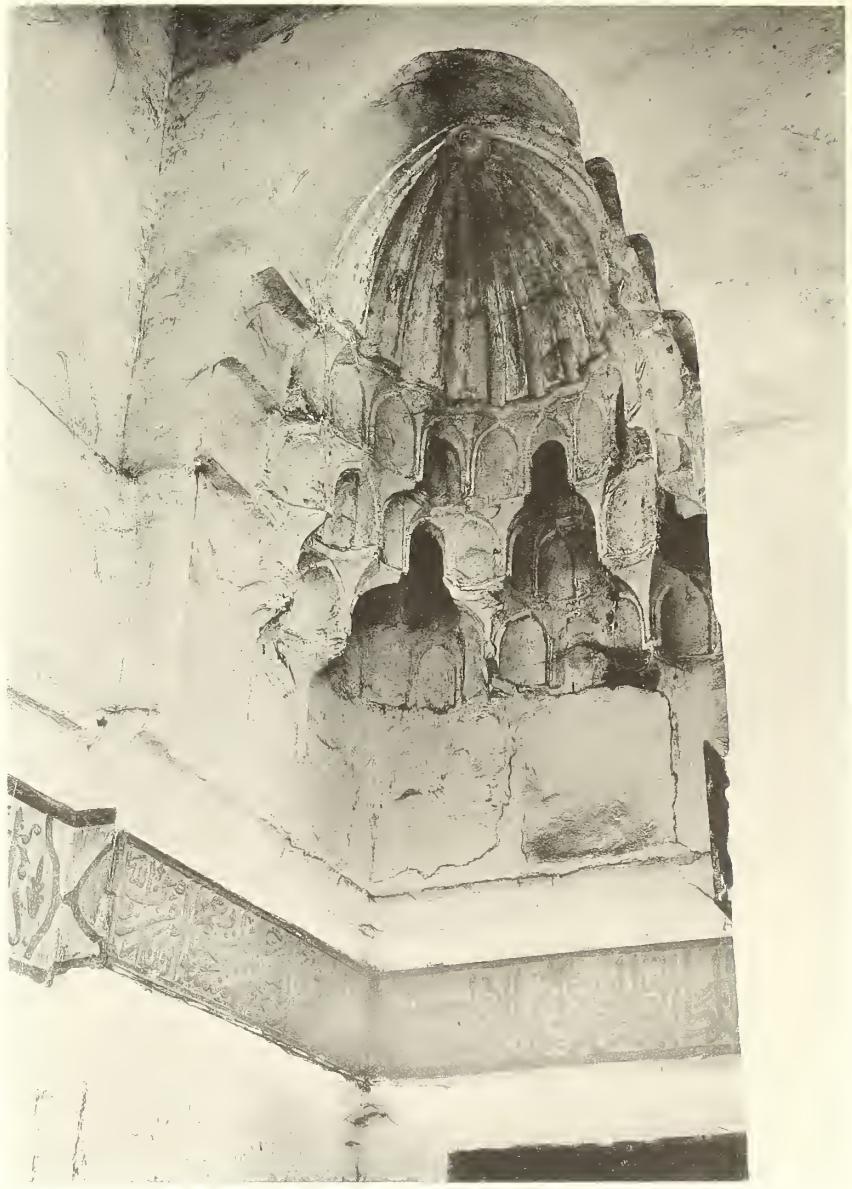


FIG. 35

Neg. No. 3827

FIGS. 34-35—DAMASCUS, DJĀMI' YELBOGHA, TWO VAULTS

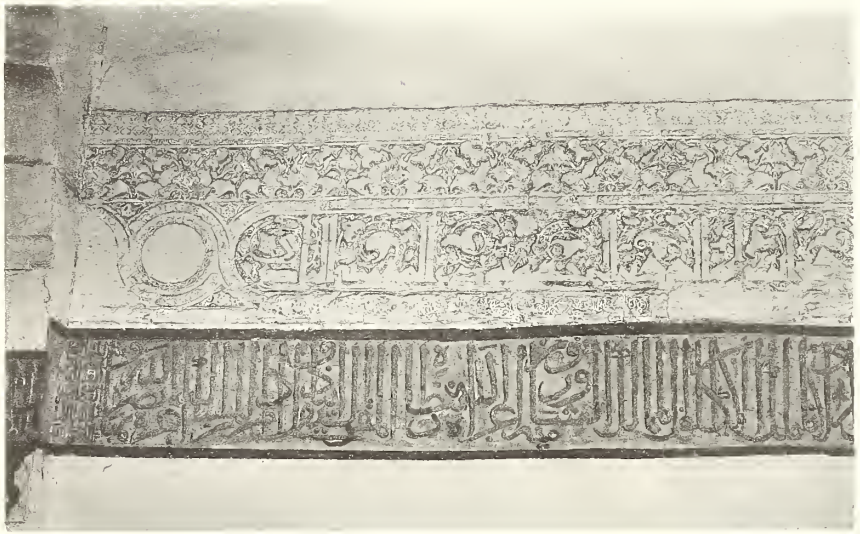


FIG. 36 Neg. No. 3823



FIG. 37 Neg. No. 3822

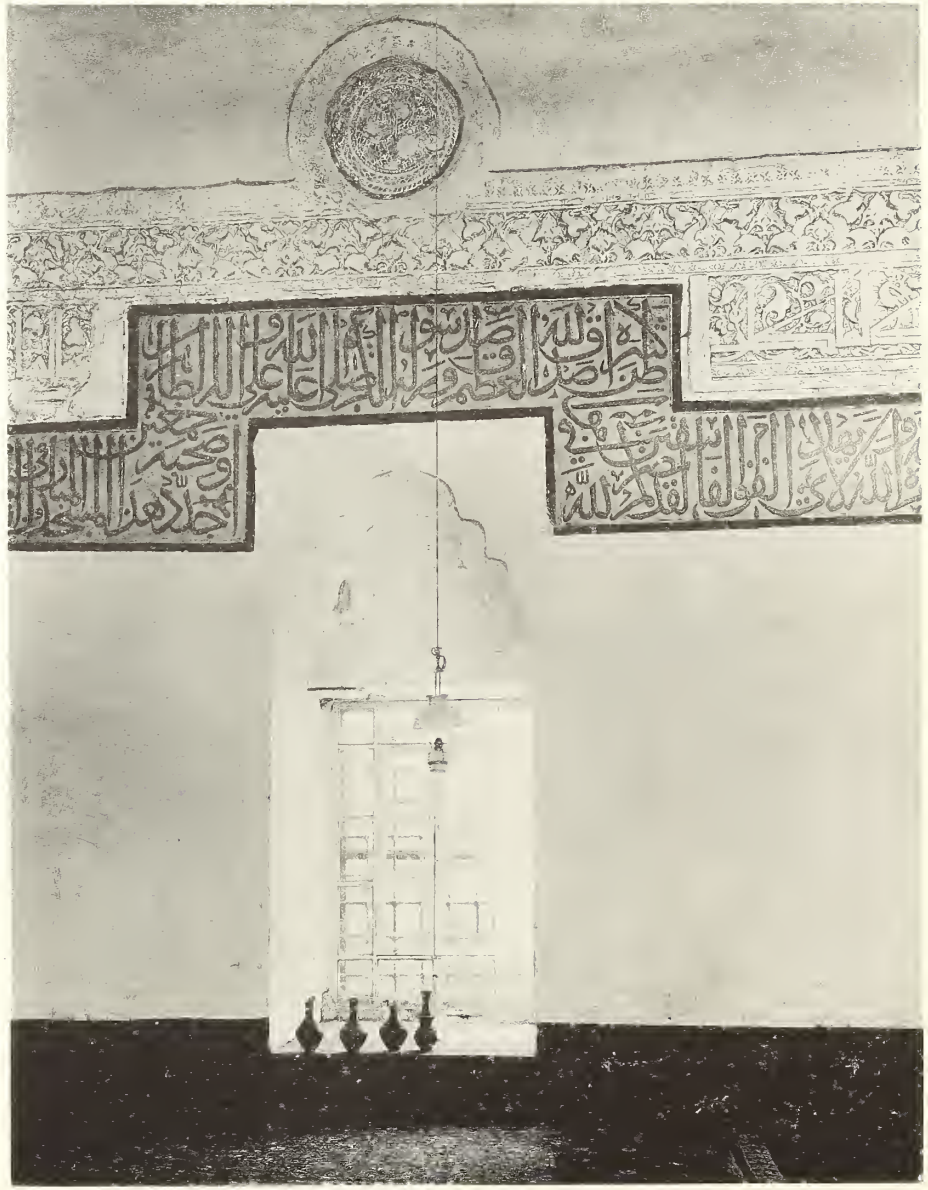


FIG. 38 Neg. No. 3824

FIGS. 36-38—DAMASCUS, DJĀMIʿ YELBOGHA, VIEWS OF INTERIOR

NOTES

RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT KHWARAZM

By Henry Field and Eugene Prostov

1939–1940. An expedition, sponsored by the Institute for the History of Material Culture (IIMK, since 1937, formerly GAIMK), studied, at Khwarazm, the Islamic monuments attributed to the tenth to the fourteenth centuries.[1] Studies were also made on another transitional period of Khwarazmian history, the Aphrigid-Samanid culture of the ninth to the beginning of the eleventh century A.D., represented by the castles of Buran-Ḳal'a, No. 2 (ninth century), Naib-Ḳal'a, No. 1, and Buran-Ḳal'a, No. 1 (tenth or eleventh century).

Buran-Ḳal'a castle, No. 2, was related closely to the usual Aphrigid monuments; at the same time, associated with late Aphrigid pottery, there were sherds of the black ware and a few specimens of the glazed pottery of Samanid type. The near-by castle of Buran-Ḳal'a, No. 1, showed medieval planning, but the black and glazed pottery of the tenth or eleventh century and isolated specimens of the relief ware of Soghdian-Samanid type and its architectural decoration with the Aphrigid proportions of the semicircular bay in the center of the building suggested that it should be regarded as representing a culture preceding the formation of the classical Khwarazmshah culture.

Naib-Ḳal'a castle, near the lower course of the Amirad Canal, must be attributed to the same period. This monument differed from the castles of the period of the highest development of the medieval Khwarazmian culture by its square-cornered towers with truncated, pyramidal bases and by the decoration of the upper part with semicolumns still closely related to the Aphrigid type.

The corner towers of Naib-Ḳal'a were closely related architecturally to the donjons of the Aphrigid castles. They represent the transference to the corner towers of decorative treatment developed for the donjons, which by that time had completely disappeared. It must be noted, however, that a similar decoration of corner towers has already been encountered during the Aphrigid period (Kum-Ḳal'a).

The most extensive excavations in the medieval period were conducted at the site of the dead oasis of Kawat-Ḳal'a (*Figs. 2, 4, 7,* and *8*). The work consisted of: (1) making a schematic plan of the entire oasis, eight square kilometers, and of plans of ninety-eight monuments upon its territory; (2) excavation of a farmstead near

[1] The information in this article was obtained in a report from Professor S. P. Tolstov, Ethnographical Institute, Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., Moscow.

The translation of the first part was made by E. V. Prostov, who followed the Congressional Library system of transliteration, with minor modifications, for all proper nouns in Russian. The translation of the second part was made by Mrs. Kathleen Price, Cuernavaca, Mexico. The whole manuscript was kindly checked by Richard N. Frye, who also added the footnotes which carry his initials.

The photographs were given by Sergei Tolstov to Henry Field while he was a guest of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. during the Jubilee Session held in Moscow during June and July, 1945. A report based on his visit to Moscow and Leningrad in June and July, 1945, appeared under the title, "Anthropology in the Soviet Union, 1945," *Amer. Anthropol.,* XLVIII (1946), 375–96.

Tolstov was planning to leave in August for further research at Khwarazm and in the Kizil-Kum Desert. A summary of the results achieved is given herein under the heading "Chronological Table."

For previous reports on Soviet expeditions to the various sites in Khwarazm see H. Field and E. Prostov, "Excavations at Khwarazm, 1937–1938," *Ars Islamica,* VI (1939), 158–66. Figure 1 of that article contains also an archeological map of the region. Various photographs included in the present article supplement the illustrative material published in volume VI of *Ars Islamica* (*Figs. 1, 3, 5,* and *6*). See also S. P. Tolstov, "The Early Culture of Khwarizm," *Antiquity,* XX (1946), 92–99.

the castle; (3) sinking a prospecting shaft inside the castle; and (4) taking measurements and preparing detailed architectural descriptions of eight monuments.

This type of settlement differed sharply from that of the settlements of the preceding (Aphrigid) period. The territory was much more thickly populated. Nearly a hundred fortified farmsteads in the Bārḳūt-Ḳal'a oasis occupied almost thirty-five square kilometers, at Kawat-Ḳal'a a similar number of farmsteads was concentrated in eight square kilometers. In some parts of the oasis the farmsteads were crowded so closely together that they practically formed a continuous settlement.

The medieval oasis also differed from the Aphrigid rural settlement in the sharp differentiation between the types of the farmsteads. The aristocratic Aphrigid castles and the fortified farms were practically identical in plan and structure, differing only in size and finish.

A totally different situation prevailed in the settlement attributed to the twelfth or thirteenth century. Only five feudal castles, including the immense castle of Kawat-Ḳal'a, stood in the oasis. Around these were grouped more than ninety unfortified peasant farmsteads, each group associated with a separate castle along the branches of the canal crossing the oasis from north to south. This was a completely feudal type of settlement, consisting of the castle of the prince, four castles of his vassals, and the numerous farms.

The feudal castles themselves were not strongly fortified and were fortresses rather in plan and execution than in function. The walls were thin, the towers small and devoid of loopholes, the surface of the gate portals, walls, and towers were decorated flamboyantly by graceful semicolumns, carved panels, and pilasters. Around the castles were unearthed extensive gardens with graceful garden structures also decorated with semicolumns and carvings on clay.

The peaceful appearance of the settlement and the refined decorativeness of the architectural style were in a sharp contrast with the military severity of the architectural landscape of the Aphrigid epoch.

These two landscapes illustrate graphically the descriptions of Khwarazm given by two Arab travelers: al-Maḳdisī, who visited Khwarazm in the tenth century toward the end of the Aphrigid period, and Yāḳūt, who was there in the thirteenth century on the eve of the downfall of the Khwarazmian empire.

Al-Maḳdisī wrote:

> They were the people of understanding, science, fiḳh, ability, and education . . . but there is in them reserve and no gracefulness, elegance, glitter, and subtlety. . . . They are hospitable people, lovers of food, brave and strong in battle, they have many peculiarities and surprising qualities.[2]

Yāḳūt, describing his impressions of a visit to Khwarazm in 1219, wrote:

> I have never seen an area more inhabited than at Khwarazm. . . . Continuous settlements, villages close to one another, many separately standing houses and castles in its steppes. Rarely does your eye rest upon uncultivated land in its townships. There is a multitude of trees here. There are mainly mulberry trees and pyramidal elms. They need them for buildings and for feeding silkworms. And there is no difference in the concentration of population if you go through its townships or if you go through its bazaars. And I do not suppose that there is in the world a land exceeding Khwarazm in prosperity and more thickly populated than it. . . . And the majority of the settlements of Khwarazm are cities having bazaars, many of life's goods and stores. Rarely is there found a village in which there is no bazaar. All this takes place in general safety and complete peace.[3]

The mighty empire of the Khwarazmshahs, who had created a powerful centralized military

[2] Maḳdisī, *Descriptio imperii moslemici,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum* (Leyden, 1877), III, 284, 17ff.

[3] Yāḳūt, *Mu'ḏjam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1924), II, 482, 4ff.

bureaucratic apparatus, made unnecessary the menacing walls of feudal castles. The dominant position of Khwarazm in the Orient, resulting from the thousand-year old tradition and an exceptionally favorable location, secured a general increasing prosperity to the populations of the central nucleus of the empire.

Not only did the feudal nobility, reaping the lion's share of the fruits of the political hegemony of Khwarazm, enjoy a relatively high level of prosperity, but the peasants did also, judging from the excavations of the farmsteads.

During that period, the peasant farmstead consisted of fairly large areas enclosed by a wall. The shape of the enclosure varied greatly; this was because of the great concentration of population requiring that the outlines of the farms be closely adjusted to the roads, irrigation canals, and other farms. One of the sides of the enclosure was usually occupied by the large farmhouse, consisting of many rooms. An invariable part of the complex of farm structures is the so-called kaptar-khāna ("pigeon tower"),[4] a name given locally to the specific structures in the form of long, narrow corridor-like buildings, invariably about three meters wide and ranging in length from six to thirty meters (*Fig. 2*). The "pigeon-towers" of Kawat-Ḳal'a varied greatly in plan, depending on their location in the group of structures. Together with the predominating rectangular type, some of the "pigeon towers" were built in the shape of a straight or blunt angle enclosing one of the corners of the farmhouse; some were T-shaped, others were built in still different shapes which will be described.

The walls of each kaptar-khāna, which were high and thick, always showed signs of interstory flooring such as beam-holes in lateral sides and channels for the ends of crossbeams in the front and rear sides. The inside surface of the walls was covered with small niches (25 by 25 by 15 centimeters) in the form of small lanceolate arches.

Because of the popular name for these structures, which have hitherto been found in Central Asia and eastern Turkestan, some investigators think that they were stations of the pigeon post. It is true that they resemble superficially ancient columbaria, and also some modern pigeon towers such as those in Afghanistan.

The members of the Khwarazm expedition discovered: (1) the presence of "pigeon towers" in every farmstead and feudal castle at Kawat-Ḳal'a; (2) the study of the niches of dozens of kaptar-khānas revealed in every case the original structure of the inner surface, showing the technique of their building (stuck on the wall; cut out) which precludes the possibility of their having ever been inhabited by living birds or animals; and (3) complete absence of any traces of pigeon excreta in the exploratory shafts and excavations, and, finally, the contents of the excavated buildings.

Furthermore, the excavations of farmstead No. 1, purposely selected because it was the smallest, revealed that the kaptar-khāna was not a separate building, but formed part of a five-room house abutting on the south wall of the small-walled farmyard, occupying an area of about three hundred square meters. Into the kaptar-khāna led two entrances, one from the yard, another from an adjoining room. Along the southern and western wall stretched an earthen bench (ṣuffa). In a pit under the south wall there was found a large storage vessel (khum) imbedded in an oblique position. Upon the floor of this room were many fragments of domestic pottery, including fragments of the Rayy ware, as well as the remains of banquets in the form of apricot and peach stones and shattered bones of animals. It can thus be concluded that this kaptar-khāna combined the functions of a store room with those of a living room, apparently, since it did not have a formal

[4] For this form of New Persian kabūtar, cf. *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ed. W. Geiger and E. Kuhn (Strassburg, 1898–1901), I, 2, 169 (R.N.F.).

kitchen hearth, something like a mihmān-khāna, the "parlor" of the modern Uzbek dwelling. The niches were apparently merely hypertrophied ordinary niches of any medieval or modern Central Asian home serving as shelves or closets for the storage of various domestic effects such as vessels, clothes, bedding, and books. Even now dozens, if not hundreds, of such niches are present in Central Asian houses, but these vary in size depending on the location and use.

That the niches of Khwarazmian houses were originally much closer in type to the modern types was shown when it was found that one room in the donjon in one of the Aphrigid farmsteads near Bārḳūt-Ḳal'a contained several niches of varying sizes. Large and small niches in the small room were also present in the castle of the third region of Kawat-Ḳal'a. The fashion of the Khwarazmshah epoch had subjugated the utilitarian functions to the purely decorative, rendering the niches virtually useless, but at the same time effectively and originally treating the walls of the semidark room. It is easy to suppose that the effect of architectural decoration was greatly enhanced by the small glass and metalware and by the display pottery placed in the niches.

This hypothesis accords with the character of the development of Khwarazmian style during the twelfth century. In place of the stern constructivism of the Aphrigid epoch, consistent with the character of the Khwarazm of that period, as described by al-Maḳdisī, there emerged the exquisite and flamboyant decorativeness of the epoch of Khwarazmshah. This was manifested in polychrome glazed pottery with its fine luster. The unglazed ware was covered by rich sculptured and carved ornament, practically transforming some of the storage vessels (khum) into architectural monuments, so rich is the high relief ornamentation descending from the neck to the shoulders of the vessels. The military functionalism of the castles was replaced by purely decorative utilization of the formerly functionally important details, such as the towers or the gate houses. The fortress walls themselves became a mere background for exquisite ornamentation. Most typical in this respect were some of the most originally planned kaptar-khānas of rich farmsteads.

These kaptar-khānas occupied the façades of the farmstead. The corners were decorated by small, angular turrets having the floor plan of ⌐¬ ⌐¬. No military function, however, could be performed by either the turrets or the kaptar-khāna itself, which, taken together, shielded the farmstead only from one side. It merely illustrates the desire of the rich squire to treat the formal façade as a castle without attempting a corresponding treatment for the backyard, which, in the case of the petty feudal squire, did not differ much from that of an ordinary farmer. Here are the sources of the typical Khwarazmian architectural tradition, known both in modern village and prerevolutionary urban dwellings, of treating the corners of buildings as turrets.

The kaptar-khāna, then, appears to be the survival of the Aphrigid donjons, which by that time had completely lost their military functions but had retained their function of storeroom and formal apartment. The two-story kaptar-khāna rose like a tower in the center, along one of the sides, or in the corner of the multiple-room farm dwelling, endowing the architectural landscape of medieval Khwarazm with a feeling reminiscent of Aphrigid architecture, but devoid of its functional reason.

Important results were obtained during the continued exploration of the ancient, now abandoned, system of irrigation canals in the Kara-Kalpak A.S.S.R.

It is now possible to trace, with much greater certainty than before, the main contours of a historical map of the ancient irrigation system of the right bank of Khwarazm. The course of three of the principal canals has been established; two others, probably secondary canals, have been studied to a lesser extent.

Topographical investigations of the ancient canals on the right bank of the Amu completely sustain the preliminary conclusions made during 1938 that the main cause of the decline of irrigation in Khwarazm during the Middle Ages was the general process of decline of productive forces during the period of transition from the slave-owning to the feudal social system.

The field season of 1940 was concluded by the study of the itinerary Turt-Kul–Nukus, which covered the following monuments: (1) mausoleum and ḳalandar-khāna of Sulṭān Bābā, on the middle part of the southern slope of Sultan-wiz-dagh; (2) the ruins of the medieval fortress of Djanpyk Ḳal'a; (3) the ruins of the fortress of Giaur-Ḳal'a in Sultan-wiz-dagh, of the classical period, as distinct from the sites of the same name in Cherman Yab and Mizdākh-ḳān; (4) several medieval signal towers in the Sultan-wiz-dagh Mountains; (5) the early Aphr-rigid fortification of Chilpyk; (6) the rocky prominence, with petroglyphs, of Kara-Tiube near Chilpyk; and (7) a group of similar prominences know as Besh-Tiube.

If we omit at this point the late medieval parts of the complex of Sulṭān Bābā, the site of which, judging by the pottery finds, was completely occupied not later than the period of the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, attention must be directed to the magnificently fortified site at Djanpyk-Ḳal'a, of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, in the extreme western end of the Sultan-wiz-dagh range, a few kilometers from the Amu Darya (*Figs. 9–11*). This was the most picturesque fortress in Khwarazm. The surrounding landscape distinguishes it from all other monuments. The bald range composed of green Sultan-wiz-daghian amphibolite, the serrated shores of rocky gorges leading toward the fortress, the crests and precipices of the black and blackish green rocks combine with the foliage of the great wooded massif of Badai Tugai, extending down to the glistening ribbon of the Amu on the horizon to produce an unforgettable impression.

The courtyard of the fortress extended along the western slope of the extreme southwestern projection of Sultan-wiz-dagh and descended westward to the wooded plain. The high, rocky platform of its eastern edge was crowned by the ruins of a large building, whose walls were decorated by graceful high relief semicolumns connected at the top by lanceolate perspective arches, rising fourteen meters above the green surface of the rock.

This building, occupied an area of twenty-five by thirty meters. The walls were built of pakhs (unbaked bricks?); at the height of two meters they were barely one meter thick. Since the walls, fourteen meters high, were almost pierced by the semicolumns, it is obvious that they required special supporting structures. These were wooden beams set in the upper and middle parts of the wall parallel to its surface. Similar beams connected obliquely the upper corners of the building. Here was encountered, for the first time, the use of reed interlining between the rows of brickwork, to prevent the seepage of saline moisture from the ground. This method later became typical for the building art of Khwarazm.

Djanpyk-Ḳal'a, the last medieval fortress south of the mountains, guarded the gate formed by the river gorge through the Sultan-wiz-dagh range. To the south and west it adjoined the Badai Tugai massif; to the north lay a valley enclosed between two mountain spurs. Opposite the northernmost spur, on the plain on the shores of the Amu, was the large classical fortress of Giaur-Ḳal'a, which from the Kangui period fulfilled the strategic function, performed later by Djanpyk-Ḳal'a, of guarding the main entrance to upper Khwarazm from the north. The ruins of two signal towers, attributed to the tenth to thirteenth centuries, were discovered on the heights north of Djanpyk. A similar tower was to the east of Sulṭān Bābā.

Since the towers were built so as to be readily visible from the cultivated lands of upper Khwarazm it must be supposed that they served as lighthouses, warning of the approach of military danger from behind the mountains, from Kerder or the Guzz steppes, probably by means of light signals.

On the northern side of the mountains the itinerary led partly through the cultivated zone. Here, down to the fortification of Chilpyk, no monuments earlier than late medieval mazārs (tombs of saints) were recorded.

To judge from the ceramic and architectural data the fortification of Chilpyk belonged to the early Aphrigid period. At the same time it differed radically from all other monuments of that period, with the possible exception of Ayāz-Ḳal'a, No. 2, which was a small (sixty meters in diameter) round fortress built of pakhs, situated at the apex of a conical hill approximately thirty-five meters high. To the entrance led a pressed clay ramp protected by lateral walls of unbaked brick, except the gate, which was built partly of baked brick of classical proportions. The substructure of the ramp consisted of brick interlined with sand.

No trace of habitable structures inside the fortification could be found. Its entire interior consisted of clay platforms almost on the level with the outer wall. The platform was paved with crushed fragments of black sandstone, and in the middle of it emerged the apex of the sandstone rock. Upon the slopes many fragments of clay ossuaries were discovered.

Without trying to arrive at a final conclusion regarding the character of this structure, which was apparently neither a castle-farmstead nor a strategic point, Tolstov suggested that this was a religious building (dakhma or āteshgāh).

Chronological Table (Fig. 12) [5]

PRIMITIVE CULTURE

Kelteminar culture. Fourth to beginning of third millennium B.C. Neolithic.

Fishing and hunting. Matriarchy, probably still with exogamy. Large, oval houses made of wood and reeds. Round vessels, often richly ornamented, but some with crude, red decoration of concentric zones filled in with stamped designs. Pottery is carinated (boat-shaped). Flint (microlithic) and bone inventory. Round objects (pendants?) of stone and shell and cylindrical shell beads.

Characteristic monuments: Djanbas-Ḳal'a, Nos. 4 and 5.

Table: Reconstruction of a large house at Djanbas-Ḳal'a, No. 4 (*Fig. 12,* No. 20).

Tazabagiab culture. Second millennium B.C. Bronze Age.

Hoe culture and pastoral husbandry. Matriarchy. Organization of tribal groups. The house types are unknown. Flat-bottomed, thin, painted pottery with stamp and incized designs; not wheel made; bases are narrow, sides bulging, and tops without rims. Basic new elements include triangles encircling the shoulders and neck, tops without rims, and oblique meandering patterns. Pictographic markings on rocks at Chilpyk and Kara-Tiube.

Characteristic monuments: Angka-Ḳal'a, No. 1, Tāshik-Kal'a, Nos. 1 and 2, etc.

Table: Pottery from Angka-Ḳal'a, No. 1, and rock paintings at Kara-Tiube.

Amirabad culture. First half of first millennium B.C. Early Iron Age.

Agriculture and cattle raising. Matriarchy. Strengthening and development of tribal groups. Long, rectangular communal houses of clay. Flat-bottomed dark, faintly ornamented vessels usually with strong, bulging sides and sharply curved tops. Some are plain and others bear rows of angles encircling the neck. Later forms of Amirabad pottery, attributed to the second half of the first millennium B.C., were found on

[5] From S. P. Tolstov, "Opyt khronologicheskoĭ klassifikatsii pamîatnikov dravnego u ranne-srednevekovogo khorezma," *Kratkie Soobscheniīa,* 13 (Moscow, 1946), 147–50.

the outskirts of oases together with archaic pottery.

Characteristic monuments: Djanbas-Ḳal'a, Nos. 1, 2, 7 and others.

Table: Plan of the "long house" at Djanbas-Ḳal'a, No. 7 (*Fig. 12*, No. 19); pottery (from left to right) from near Bārḳūt-Ḳal'a, the remainder from Djanbas-Ḳal'a, Nos. 1 and 2.

ANCIENT CULTURE

Achaemenid period. Gorodishches with walls of residences. Sixth to four centuries B.C.

Construction of great canals. Beginnings of a state. Entry of Khwarazm into the Achaemenid empire. Gorodishches with walls as one side of residences identical with the "Var" with square walls in the Avesta (dwelling places for people with separate quarters for animals [6]). Wheel-made pottery with a horizontal, ridged surface. Large earthenware storage jars (khum-type) and large vessels without rims, with transition to a form with projecting square rim. Texture coarse because of sand admixture and uneven firing. Often without a discoidal base. Red slip (*engobé*) appears on bowls and white on jars. Small trihedral arrowheads with flanges. Archaic statuettes of goddesses and horses.

Characteristic monuments: Kiuzeli-Gyr, Kalaly-Gyr, No. 1 and the lowest level at Bāzār-Ḳal'a.

Table: Plan of Kiuzeli-Gyr (*Fig. 12*, No. 17), Kalaly-Gyr, No. 1 (*Fig. 12*, No. 18), reconstruction of the "dwelling walls." Pottery from Kiuzeli-Gyr with the exception of the truncated, conical vessel in the upper left—material from M. V. Voevodskiĭ collection from south of Khwarazm in 1934. Arrowheads and bronze beads from Kiuzeli-Gyr. Female statuettes from Bārḳūt-Ḳal'a. Horse's head from the plain around Bāzār-Ḳal'a.

[6] Tolstov is referring to the varefśh (*Videvdat*, Fargard II, 25 f.), which seems to have represented something like Noah's ark. Tolstov's statement is highly conjectural. (R.N.F.)

Kangui culture. Hellenistic, fourth century B.C. to first century A.D.[7]

Flowering of Kangui Khwarazmian kingdom. Cities and crafts. Fortified, square settlements with preservation of communal life. Large houses with many rooms grouped into two basic quarters (phratry system). "Fire temple" as center of the communal life of the settlement. Separate conglomerations of family dwellings, fortified (Kiunerli-Ḳal'a and Aḳ-Tappa). The plan of the cities repeats that of the villages, that is, a conglomeration of houses divided by central streets according to two complexes corresponding to the phratry system. Pottery is black, red, and light colored with black and red decorations, made on a foot-operated wheel. A red slip, notched and decorated with a triangular pattern, descending to the shoulder of the vessel. Large jars (khum-type) with round, cylindrical, high discoidal bases. Goblets. Light, thin-walled pottery, not wheel made. Vessels with high necks. Large dishes with straight (uncurved) sides. Many human and animal figurines in Kangui style. Large bronze arrowheads. Very large grain graters. Bipyramidal cornelians, heavy paste beads, small glass fragments, and square pyrite beads. Rings with oval or round sockets.

[7] The names of the various cultures are usually taken from the sites where type-objects were first found. Thus, Kelteminar is the name of an aryk ("small canal") in which objects of this culture were first found. Presumably, the same is true for the Tazabagîab culture. In his article "Drevnosti Verkhnego Khorezma," *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* (= *VDI*), I, 14 (1941), 156, Tolstov in note 3 says: "For the first mention of this culture cf. S. Tolstov, "Drevnekhorezmiiskie pamîatniki Kara-Kalpakii," *VDI*, 3 (1939), 177. In this article I am unable to find the word used. The Kangui culture is derived from the Chinese name K'ang chü, which designated a country probably north of the Syr Darya in the Kirghiz steppes, in the annals of the Han dynasty, cf. O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1930), I, 337, and especially G. Haloun, "Zur Üe-tṣi-Frage," *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morgenl. Gesellsch.*, XCI (1937), 252, n. 3. (R.N.F.).

Kangui coins with inscriptions imitating the inscriptions on the coins of Eucratides. Oval seals and two-sided scarabs with representations of horsemen, griffins, sea horses, and birds.

Characteristic monuments: Djanbas-Ḳal'a, Koi-krilgan-Ḳal'a, little Kirk-Kiz, Kiunerli-Ḳal'a, and Aḳ-Tappa.

Table: Plan of little Kirk-Kiz (*Fig. 12,* No. 14), Koi-krilgan-Ḳal'a (*Fig. 12,* No. 15), reconstruction of Djanbas-Ḳal'a—façade and plan of walls (*Fig. 12,* No. 16). Pottery from Djanbas-Ḳal'a, Koi-krilgan-Ḳal'a, and upper stratum of Bāzār-Ḳal'a. Black, lacquered water jars from the ancient settlement near Bārḳūt-Ḳal'a, No. 13. Arrowheads from Djanbas-Ḳal'a, also spindle whorls. Beads, rings, belt fragments, and pendants shaped like hands. Pottery figurines and reliefs including a lion's head as a vessel handle and another in the form of a beast of prey, from the ancient settlement near Bārḳūt-Ḳal'a, No. 13. Coins of an unknown sovereign from Topraḳ-Ḳal'a.

Kushan culture. Roman period, second to third centuries.

Continuous flowering of Khwarazmian culture. Transition from fortified communal villages and separately constructed family-house complexes to villages with no outer walls, consisting of separate multiple family farmsteads. Sharp isolation of feudal estates. Preservation of communal dwellings in the towns. Citadel was the castle of the ruler. Sometimes in very early monuments, such as Giaur-Ḳal'a at Chermen-Yab, and the Kushan citadel at Bāzār-Ḳal'a, there existed a place of refuge and a place of the cult. Pottery with a red slip, burnished, and with a white slip. No black ware, and the painted ware has almost vanished. Appearance of fragments with a light green glaze. Storage jars with narrow, flat rims without necks. Bowls without bases; flasks with flat sides. Thin lightly colored pottery, not wheel made, also some of coarse quality. Crude, discoidal objects, which were probably the covers for basins (or hearths ?), with small perforations near the edge. Small bronze trihedral arrowheads with flanges; grain graters. First hand millstones appear. Beads and rings of same types as during Kangui period.

Characteristic monuments: Ayāz-Ḳal'a, No. 3, and the middle stratum at Topraḳ-Ḳal'a.

Table: Plan of Ayāz-Ḳal'a, No. 3 (*Fig. 12,* No. 10), reconstructed fortress of Djildyk-Ḳal'a (*Fig. 12,* No. 11), farm No. 1 near Ayāz-Ḳal'a, No. 3 (*Fig. 12,* No. 12). Reconstruction of Topraḳ-Kal'a and detail of corner turrets of city walls (*Fig. 12,* No. 13). Pottery from Ayāz-Ḳal'a. Also arrowheads, spindle whorls, grain graters, rings, beads, votive objects, and miniature male torsos of green paste from Bāzār-Ḳal'a. Figurines and mortar fragments from the higher levels at Djanbas-Ḳal'a. Coins: below, late Kushan coins with Khwarazmian superimpression in the form of S from Ayāz-Ḳal'a; above, "Vazamar" coins; Hermitage.[8]

Kushan–Aphrigid culture. Third to fifth centuries A.D.

Decline of the ancient Khwarazmian culture. Cities preserve their former type, but at the end of the period many of them were deserted. Transition to the fortress-type settlement. Castles with outer walls of baked brick with brick donjons in the center, or citadels with inner courts. A square concentric plan laid out in the form of terraces, the inner court being raised to the level of the outer. Pottery shows a gradual transition from the ancient to the Aphrigid form. Decline of the city pottery production. A specialized form of characteristic khum with straight high neck; then changing to a khum with rim and top encircled by two strongly protruding ridges. Large rough pots and dishes with sculp-

[8] On the reconstructed sovereign Vazamar (wzm'r) cf. S. Tolstov, "Monety shakhov drevnego Khorezma i drevnekhorezmiiskiĭ alfabit," *VDI,* IV, 5 (1938), 126, also Tolstov's article, "K istorii Khorezmiiskikh Siyavushidov," *Izvestiĭa Akad. Nauk,* II, 4 (1945), 275–86.

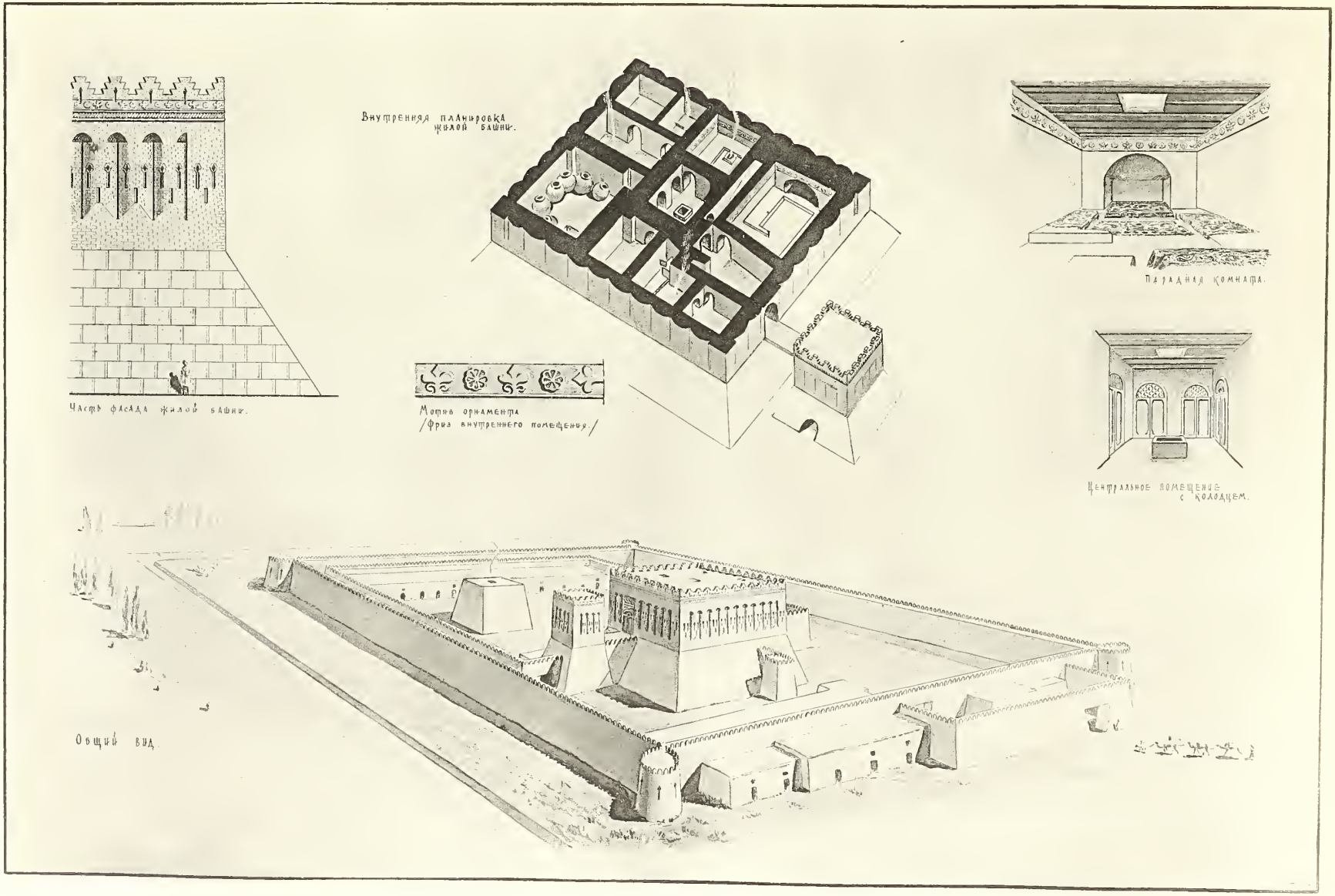


FIG. 1—TĀSHIK-ḲAL'A

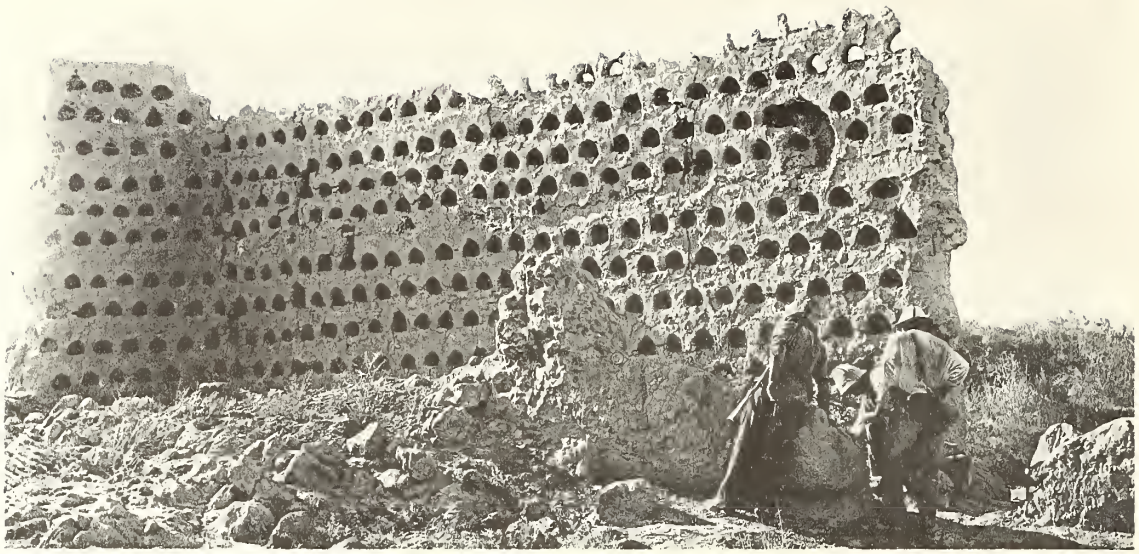


FIG. 2—KAWAT-ḲAL'A, PEASANT HOUSE ("KAPTAR-KHĀNA")



FIG. 3—NEAR TERMEZ, CARAVANSERAI, ABOUT EIGHTH CENTURY A.D.

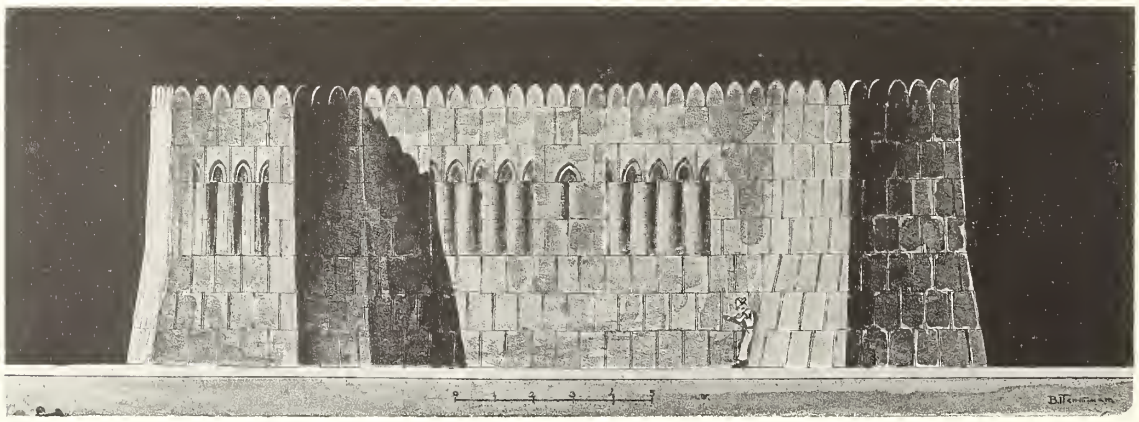


FIG. 4—RECONSTRUCTION OF SMALL HOUSE OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY A.D.



FIG. 5—NEAR BĀRKŪT-ḴAL'A, CASTLE NO. 36, ABOUT NINTH CENTURY A.D.



FIG. 6—ANCIENT MERV, TIERED VAULT OF STAIRCASE, PROBABLY TWELFTH CENTURY A.D.



FIG. 7—KAWAT-ḴAL'A, STUCCO FRAGMENTS, TWELFTH CENTURY A.D.

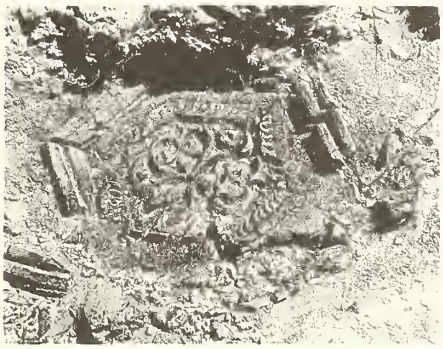


FIG. 8—KAWAT-ḴAL'A, FRAGMENT OF DOOR



Fig. 9

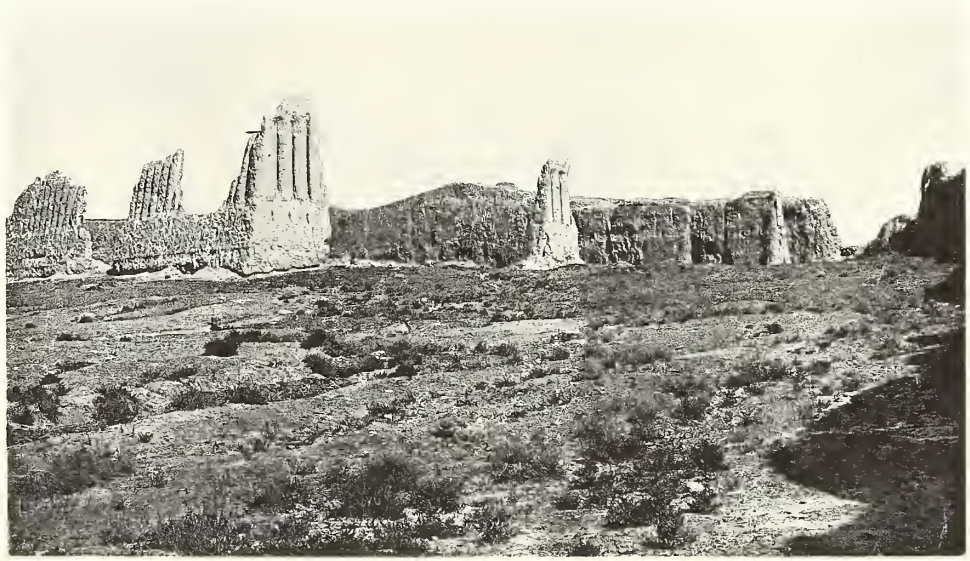


Fig. 10

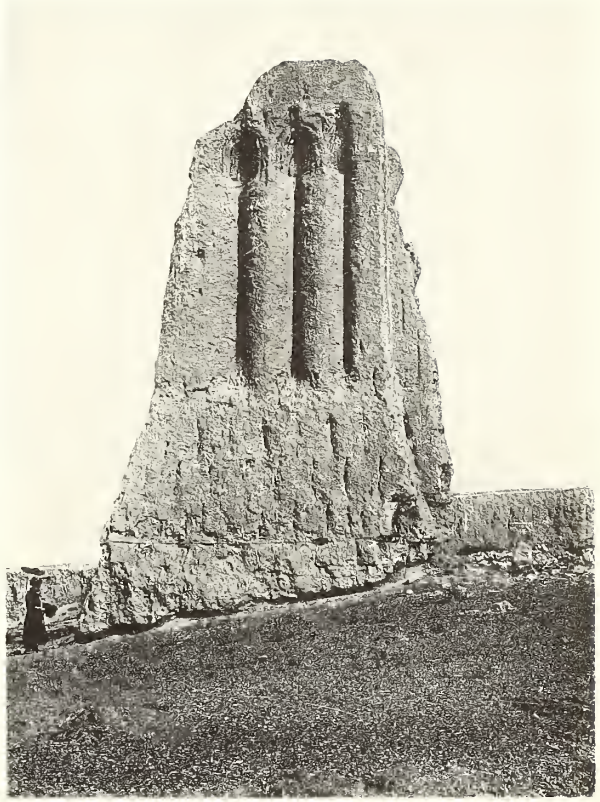


Fig. 11

Figs. 9–11—Djanpyk-Ḳal'a, Twelfth Century a.d.

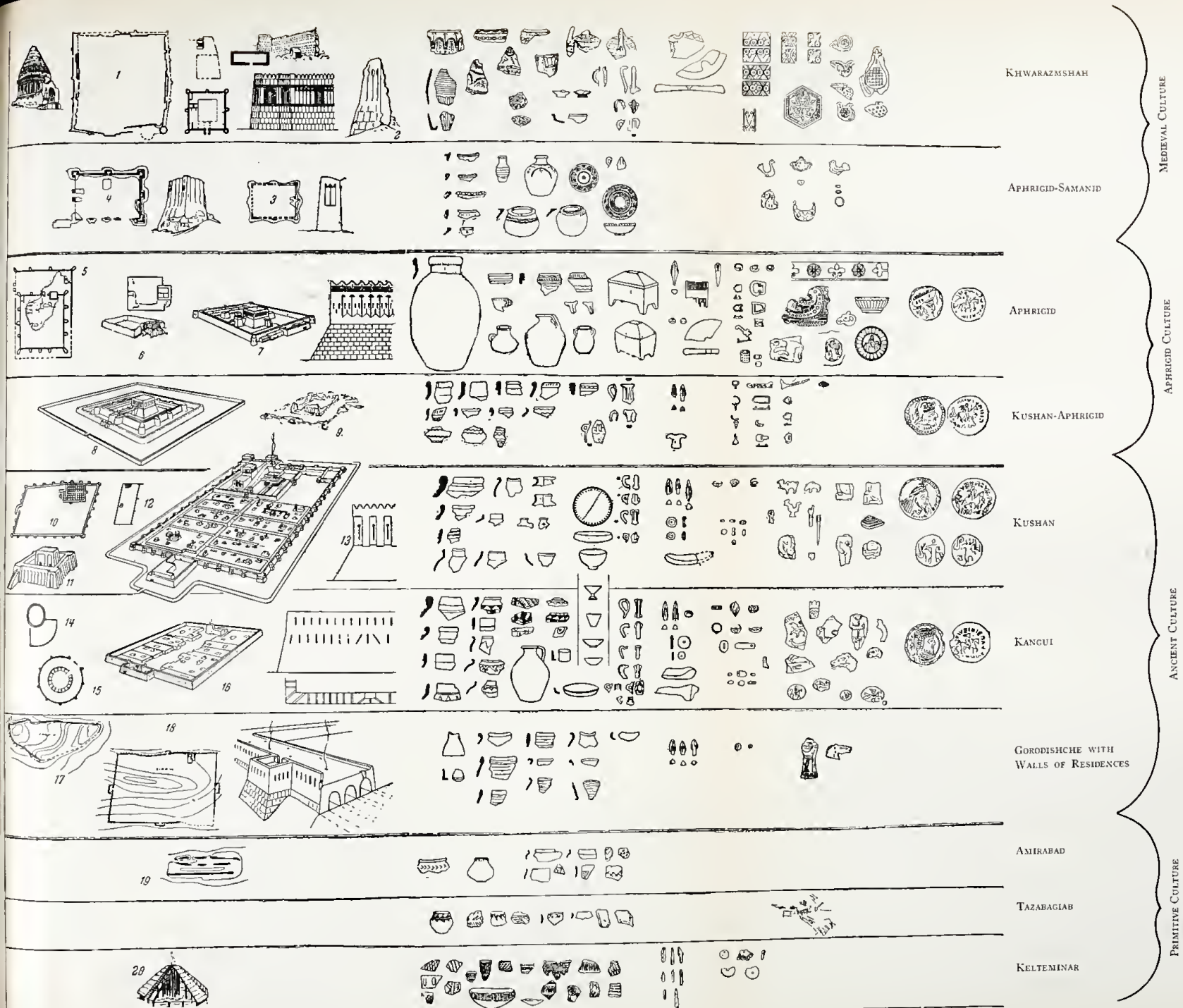


Fig. 12—Preliminary Chronological Classificati of the Archeology of Ancient Khwarazm

1. Kawat-Kal'a
2. Djanpyk-Kal'a
3. Buran-Kal'a
4. Naib-Kal'a
5. Kum-baskan-Kal'a
6. Bärkût-Kal'a, Castle No. 8
7. Tashik-Kal'a
8. Yakke-parsan
9. Little Kawat
10. Ayäz-Kal'a no. 3
11. Djildyk-Kal'a
12. Ayäz-Kal'a, Farmstead No. 1
13. Topraq-Kal'a
14. Little Kirk-Kiz
15. Koi-krilgan
16. Djanbas-Kal'a
17. Kiuzeli-Gyr
18. Kalaly-Gyr
19. Djanbas-Kal'a, Structure No. 7
20. Djanbas-Kal'a, Structure No. 4

tured ornamentation on the edges. Two-pronged projections under cauldrons, similar to the Aphrigid buckets with handles sharply cut out. Toward the end of the period the ancient forms completely disappear. Early Aphrigid coins (Group A).

Characteristic monuments: Topraḳ-Ḳal'a, Yakke-parsan, and little Kawat-Ḳal'a.

Table: Reconstruction of Yakke-parsan (*Fig. 12,* No. 8). General view of little Kawat-Ḳal'a (*Fig. 12,* No. 9). Pottery, arrowheads, two-pronged "stands under cauldrons," bronze decorated earrings, pendants, bracelets, rings, parts of belts from Topraḳ-Ḳal'a. "Aphrigid" coins; Hermitage.

Aphrigid culture. Fifth to ninth centuries A.D.[9]

Growth of the elements of feudal relationships at the time when the patriarchal slaveholding system was decaying. Fewer towns. Growth of a new type of town in the form of settlements around strongly fortified feudal castles, such as Bārḳūt-Ḳal'a. Decay of isolated fortified estates. Donjons with vaulted or massive socles placed eccentrically (at the corners or in the middle of one of the walls). Gauffering (fluting) of the donjon walls with half-columns without loopholes or with false loopholes. Very large storage jars (khum) with ovals cut out of the rim, ornamented with bone incisions or finger impressions. Thin-walled water jugs with triangles in the rims, and wide, flat handles ornamented with stripes or finger impressions. Various types of pottery made without a wheel. Large, iron-shafted, trihedral arrowheads and javelins. Large, thin hand millstones. Spherical beads, rings. Round seals of different sizes. Aphrigid coins (Group B).

Characteristic monuments: Bārḳūt-Ḳal'a and Tāshik-Ḳal'a (upper stratum).

Table: Plan of Kum-baskan-Ḳal'a (*Fig. 12,* No. 5). Small castle No. 8, near Bārḳūt-Ḳal'a (*Fig. 12,* No. 6). Reconstruction and detail of decoration of donjons of Tāshik-Ḳal'a (*Fig. 12,* No. 7). Pottery, Tāshik-Ḳal'a; alabaster ossuaries above and clay below, castle No. 36, near Bārḳūt-Ḳal'a. Bronze arrowheads from the flat land around Bārḳūt-Ḳal'a. Comb from Tāshik-Ḳal'a. Fragment of a bone object with the engraving of a fish, castle No. 36. Spindle whorls and fragments of a millstone, Tāshik-Ḳal'a. Rings and parts of belts from the plain around Bārḳūt-Ḳal'a; complete cylinder with circular ornamentation, beads, frieze, impressed seals with representations of horsemen, and a four-handed deity; statuette of a ram's head, Tāshik-Ḳal'a; silver cup with a representation of a horseman; Hermitage. Shāwushfar coins.[10]

MEDIEVAL CULTURE

Aphrigid-Samanid culture. Ninth to eleventh centuries A.D.

Formation of a feudal society. Castles without donjons, but with large central buildings. Baked brick walls. Corner towers round or square. Fluting of the towers with half-columns transitional between the Aphrigid and Khwarazmian types. Pottery, black and gray with plastic ornamentation; glazed ware with underglaze painting in warm, reddish cinnamon shade. Separate finds of Sogdian reliefs on pottery of Samanid type.

Characteristic monuments: Buran-Ḳal'a, Naib-Ḳal'a, and the "old city" of Narindzhan.

Table: Naib-Ḳal'a, plan and corner tower (*Fig. 12,* No. 4). Buran-Ḳal'a, plan and tower (*Fig. 12,* No. 3). Pottery from the "old city" of Narindzhan, except for two half cups from Emukhshir discovered by Voevodskiĭ in 1934. Copper objects from Narindzhan and Emukhshir.

[9] "Aphrig" was the name of a (mythical ?) Khwarazmian king, cf. *The Chronology of Ancient Nations* (Bīrūnī), trans. by E. Sachau (London, 1879), p. 41.

[10] Cf. *Ars Islamica,* VI (1939), 165.

Khwarazmshah culture. Twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D.

Flowering of feudalism. New mastery of formerly neglected land. New development of city life, crafts, and trade. Differentiation between the feudal castles and the unfortified peasant homesteads. Decorative development of private fortifications as a result of the fortifications of the government. Preservation of the characteristic multiple family peasant dwellings. Almost complete domination of baked bricks for building. Small, square bricks. Wide use of the baked bricks. Pointed arches. Kaptar-khāna. Fluting of walls with thin columns in high relief and pointed arches. Accentuated façades. Development of the portal. On religious and cultural buildings are decorations of brick facings. Pottery, black with exceptionally rich molding. Carved ornamentation and glazing; in addition to underglaze painting of a high type there are luster decorations and paintings in cool shades on the glaze.

Characteristic monuments: Kawat-Ḳal'a.

Table: Mausoleum of Tekesh at Kunya Urgench. Plan of Kawat-Ḳal'a (*Fig. 12*, No. 1) Plan and façade (reconstruction) of castle No. 1, peasant homestead at Kawat-Ḳal'a. One of the kaptar-khāna near Kawat-Ḳal'a (plan and general view). Part of the ruins of a palace at Djanpyk-Ḳal'a (*Fig. 12*, No. 2). Pottery, Kawat-Ḳal'a, except for two designs on the right corner (chance finds at Topraḳ-Ḳal'a). Millstone from Kawat-Ḳal'a. Details of architectural decorations. Kawat-Ḳal'a, above and left, clay statuary; center bottom, rosette carved out of wood for a door; right, fragments of a carved head.

Khwarazmian-Dzhuchid culture. Monuments of this period have not yet been examined by specialists. Their general character is described by A. R. IAkubovskiĭ, in his *The Ruins of Urgench* and the *Origin of the Craft Production of Saraĭa Berke.* Important indications: transition to polychrome tile decorations for religious and cultural buildings. Wide use of pottery with turquoise, blue, and green glazes.

Characteristic monument: Kunya Urgench.

UNE SIGNATURE DE POTIER PERSAN SUR UN TESSON D'AL-FUSṬĀṬ

Par J. Sauvaget

Le Musée Arabe du Caire conserve, sous le numéro d'inventaire 5396/2, un tesson de poterie *à reflets métalliques,* provenant d'al-Fusṭāṭ, dont le fond est décoré de trois personnages. Au-dessus de ceux-ci court une inscription, tracée au pinceau, dont on n'avait jusqu'ici déchiffré que deux mots, ceux qui surmontent le personnage central: أبو طالب Abū Ṭālib. La présence de ce nom propre avait conduit à une exégèse du dessin, peu vraisemblable en soi,[1] qui achève de perdre toute autorité dès que l'on observe qu'elle se fonde seulement sur une lecture fragmentaire: chacun des personnages représentés étant surmonté d'un groupe de caractères, on ne pouvait espérer proposer une interprétation correcte de la scène qu'à la condition d'avoir reconnu la teneur du texte tout entier, et non pas d'un seul de ses éléments. Or le déchiffrement, qui ne se heurte à aucune difficulté particulière, établit que cette inscription ne constitue point une légende explicative: c'est une signature.

Le groupe de caractères qui vient à gauche, bien qu'empâté par un pinceau trop chargé de couleur, se laisse lire sans peine: مصوّر muṣawwir, "faiseur d'images, imagier." Selon la règle fixée par des formules similaires,[2] ce qualificatif doit se rapporter au nom propre qui le précède, mais

[1] G. Wiet, *Album du Musée Arabe du Caire* (Le Caire, 1930), Pl. 65, avec une reproduction du tesson. Autres reproductions dans *La Céramique égyptienne à l'époque musulmane* (Musée de l'Art Arabe du Caire; Bâle, 1922), Pl. 46; et R. Ettinghausen, "Painting in the Fatimid Period," *Ars Islamica,* IX (1942), Fig. 32.

[2] E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, et G. Wiet, *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* (Le Caire, 1931—), no. 143, 144, 240, 319, 323, 384, 393, etc.

une remarque importante s'impose alors: *muṣawwir* étant un participe arabe employé en fonction d'épithète ou d'apposition à un substantif grammaticalement déterminé par nature (le nom propre *Abū Ṭālib*), il devrait être précédé de l'article arabe *al-*; si ce dernier manque, ce doit être parce que l'inscription est rédigée *en persan,* langue dans laquelle le rapport grammatical entre un substantif et l'adjectif que le suit n'est marqué que par une voyelle brève, si bien qu'il n'apparaît pas dans la graphie usuelle, non vocalisée: أبو طالب مصوّر Abū Ṭālib-i-muṣawwir.

La langue dans laquelle est rédigée l'inscription étant ainsi identifiée, rien de plus facile que de fixer la teneur du premier groupe de caractères: on y lit le mot تنّور *tannūr,* "four" (ici, évidemment: "four de potier"), précédé de la préposition persane از , *az,* "de, provenant de." Le texte se décompose donc en cinq mots donnant un sens par eux-mêmes, sans appeler de complément: از تنّور أبو طالب مصوّر az-tannūr-i-Abū Ṭālib-i- muṣawwir, "(provenant) du four d'Abū Ṭālib l'imagier."[3]—Que cet "imagier" soit ce que nous appellerions un potier, pas de doute: sinon, la mention de son four ne se justifierait pas.

L'intérêt de cette lecture est qu'elle permet sans doute de rapprocher le tesson du Caire de deux autres pièces de céramique, l'une et l'autre bien connues, qui relèvent d'une technique ornementale très différente: deux plats *à graffito et décor jaspé* de jaune et de vert (céramique dite "d'Aghkand"), conservés l'un au Musée du Louvre,[4] l'autre à Chicago,[5] portant une signature réduite à un seul nom, celui-là même qu'on lit sur le tesson du Caire: أبو طالب Abū Ṭālib. Sous la réserve de minimes dissemblances introduites par la différence d'outil (pinceau dans un cas, pointe dans l'autre), l'écriture est la même ici et là; le texte occupe ici et là la même place sur l'objet: bien en vue, parmi le décor; les trois pièces sont à attribuer approximativement à la même date; l'une d'elles est signée en persan, les deux autres ont été trouvées dans la Perse du nord. Tant de points communs peuvent d'autant moins s'expliquer par une coïncidence que le nom Abū Ṭālib est loin d'être fréquent: il est à peu près certain que nous sommes là devant trois oeuvres d'un seul et même potier, dont la langue maternelle était le persan et dont le centre de production se plaçait dans la Perse septentrionale: quitta-t-il ensuite sa patrie pour aller se fixer à al-Fusṭāṭ, ou le tesson trouvé en Égypte provient-il seulement d'un unique objet d'importation? Bien que cette seconde hypothèse me semble de loin la plus vraisemblable, il serait imprudent de conclure sur les seuls indices actuellement à notre disposition, avant que l'on n'ait comparé systématiquement les céramiques égyptiennes à reflets métalliques provenant d'al-Fusṭāṭ aux céramiques de même technique trouvées en Perse du Nord.

[3] Correctement, on devrait avoir أبى طالب, mais on sait combien la confusion entre les deux cas est fréquente, et pas seulement en épigraphie.

[4] A. U. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art* (Oxford, 1938–39), V, Pl. 608; M. Pézard, *La Céramique archaïque de l'Islam* (Paris, 1920), Pl. 78. Sur la céramique "d'Aghkand," v. Pope, *op. cit.,* II, 1526 sqq.

[5] Pope, *op. cit.,* V, Pl. 611 A, et *idem, Introduction to Persian Art* (Londres, 1930), Fig. 27.

LITERATURE ON ISLAMIC ART, 1939 TO 1945

During the war years students of Islamic art, like those of all other fields, were unable to keep themselves informed about current publications brought out throughout the world. Even with the termination of hostilities it has proved difficult to get the necessary bibliographical data. With the realization that a great deal of valuable research might remain unnoticed, it was thought that *Ars Islamica* would be an appropriate medium for presenting a detailed list of Islamic art studies published from 1939 to 1945. Scholars in various countries kindly consented to collaborate. In accordance with the established editorial policy of *Ars Islamica,* literature on Coptic and Sasanian art is to be included in the project.

It was anticipated that the collection of information from so many sources would, in some instances, prove difficult—an assumption which was later confirmed. It seemed advisable, therefore, not to delay publication of the material on hand even when it meant sacrificing a unified form of presentation in a single volume; consequently, the various contributors were asked to compile their data in the manner they thought most suitable, together with such information and annotations as their colleagues might find useful. In publishing these bibliographies as they have been received, we have therefore retained each author's style of presentation.

In addition to the articles printed on the following pages, three more reports reached the Editorial Office when it was unfortunately too late to include them in this volume. These surveys are by C. J. Lamm on the Scandinavian publications; by L. Torres Balbás on books and articles produced in Spain; and by H. von Erffa on American publications; these will be published in Volume XIV together with the other articles which are still in preparation.

The Editor wishes to thank all contributors for their interest and the pains they have taken in collecting the bibliographical data for this important project.

R.E.

L'ARCHÉOLOGIE MUSULMANE EN FRANCE DE 1939 À 1945

Par J. Sauvaget

Les islamisants français ont le droit d'être fiers de l'oeuvre qu'ils ont accomplie pendant la guerre: en un temps où des circonstances douloureuses les privaient tout à la fois de la liberté d'esprit et des conditions matérielles favorables au travail intellectuel, ils n'en ont pas moins—soutenus par une espérance invincible et soucieux de préparer l'avenir—fourni une masse considérable de travaux et, là où ils ne pouvaient rien faire d'autre, mis au point des projets et des plans qui commencent aujourd'hui à entrer dans la voie de la réalisation. On trouvera ici un bilan, que je crois complet, de ceux des résultats de cette activité qui intéressent les archéologues. Certaines publications parues sous le millésime 1939 n'ayant effectivement été distribuées qu'à la fin de l'année ou même au début de l'année 1940, alors que les communications postales se trouvaient déjà entravées par la guerre, elles risquent de n'être pas encore connues partout: je crois donc bien faire en les adjoignant à la présente liste, qui se trouve ainsi reprendre la bibliographie des années 1939 à 1945: elle a été arrêtée au 1er janvier 1946. Les comptes-rendus y sont indiqués par l'ábréviation c. r.

Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres

L'Académie est demeurée fidèle à la tradition qui fait de l'orientalisme un des champs principaux de son activité.

Elle s'est adjoint deux islamisants: M. G.

Marçais, bien connu pour ses travaux sur l'art musulman (1940), et M. H. Massé, professeur de persan à l'École Nationale des Langues Orientales (1941), ainsi que deux savants dont le domaine touche de très près à nos études: M. P. Deschamps, auteur d'ouvrages monumentaux sur les châteaux des Croisés en Syrie (1942), et le chanoine G. Ryckmans, de Louvain, spécialiste de l'épigraphie safaïtique et sud-arabique (1943).

Parmi les communications faites à l'Académie, un grand nombre intéresse l'archéologie musulmane: P. Deschamps, "Le Décor d'entrelacs carolingien et sa survivance à l'époque romane," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes-rendus des séances,* 1939, p. 387–96; G. de Jerphanion, "L'Influence de la miniature musulmane sur un évangéliaire syriaque illustré du XIIIème siècle," *ibid.,* 1939, p. 483–509 (cf. du même, *Les Miniatures du ms. syriaque nº 559 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane* [Vatican, 1940], VIII + 122 p., 28 pl.; c. r. détaillés in *Syria,* XXIII [1942–43], 114–17, par R. Dussaud, et *Journal des savants,* 1940, p. 145–61, par L. Bréhier); J. Sauvaget, "Les Ruines omeyyades de 'Andjar," *ibid.,* 1940, p. 14 (publié in *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth,* III [1939], 5–11); G. Salles, "Les Fouilles de Chapour," *ibid.,* 1941, p. 507–22 (v. aussi ci-dessous); G. Marçais, "La Crise de l'Islam au XIème siècle," *ibid.,* 1942, p. 324–25 (résume la matière d'un ouvrage actuellement sous presse sous le titre *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au moyen-age*); J. Puig y Cadafalch, "La Frontière septentrionale de l'art mozarabe," *ibid.,* 1943, p. 352–58; P. Deschamps, "Les Travaux de M. P. Coupel au château de Sahyoun," *ibid.,* 1945, p. 263–68 (travaux de dégagement et de restauration, bâtiments d'époque islamique); G. Ryckmans, "Les Fouilles de Ḥureyda, Ḥaḍramont," *ibid.,* 1945, pp. 230–34.

Collège de France

Aux enseignements anciens d'islamologie du

reyda, Ḥaḍramont," *ibid.,* 1945, p. 230–34.

d'histoire des arts de l'Orient musulman dont le titulaire, M. A. Gabriel, a traité les sujets suivants: "Introduction à l'histoire des arts musulmans: formes et techniques," et "Villes et monuments des turcs seldjoukides de Roum (1941–42)"; "La Structure et le décor dans l'architecture de l'Orient musulman," et "Villes et monuments des turcs seldjoukides de Roum, suite" (1942–43); "La Mosquée d'Orient," et "L'Art du Moyen-Age dans la Haute-Mésopotamie" (1943–44; résumé in *Annuaire du Collège de France,* 44 [1945], 106–8); *La Mosquée d'Orient,* suite, et "Amida-Diyarbékir" (1944–45; résumé in *Annuaire,* 45 [1945], 125–28).

Société Asiatique

La Société asiatique a continué de tenir ses séances mensuelles de travail, mais le *Journal asiatique,* frappé par la réglementation sur les publications périodiques, n'a pu paraître avec la régularité désirable.

Le tome CCXXXI (1939) contient: J. Sauvaget, "Remarques sur les monuments omeyyades, 1: châteaux de Syrie," p. 1–59 (défend ou confirme l'attribution aux Omeyyades d'une vingtaine de monuments habituellement considérés comme romains ou byzantins).

Le tome CCXXXII (1940), dont le premier fascicule a dû paraître sous le titre provisoire de *Mélanges asiatiques,* contient: J. Sauvaget, "Remarques sur les monuments omeyyades, II: argenteries 'sassanides,' " p. 19–57 (rend à l'art islamique deux plats regardés jusqu'ici comme sassanides).

Deux fascicules sont sous presse, qui paraîtront à bref délai.

Musée du Louvre

Les collections musulmanes du Musée du Louvre, mises en sûreté en province, n'ont aucunement souffert du fait de la guerre, non plus que celles du Musée de Cluny et du Musée des

Arts Décoratifs: ramenées à Paris, elles sont en cours de réinstallation, et on les reverra bientôt telles qu'on les a connues autrefois, enrichies même pendant la guerre de quelques acquisitions et donations. Intactes également, bien qu'elles n'aient pas quitté Paris, les mosaïques provenant des fouilles d'Antioche ont fait l'objet d'une nouvelle présentation qui les groupe avec des peintures de Pompeï en un ensemble très instructif pour l'étude des origines lointaines de l'art islamique.

Les fouilles sassanides de Shāpūr, subventionnées par le Musée du Louvre (R. Ghirshman), ont dû être interrompues en 1941, mais leurs dernières campagnes ont produit des résultats intéressants que des publications ont fait connaître dans leurs grandes lignes (v. ci-dessous et *Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes-rendus des séances,* 1945, p. 8).

Musée Guimet

Rattaché aux Musées Nationaux, il groupe désormais tous les objets d'art de l'Inde et de l'Extrême-Orient qui appartiennent à l'État.

La *Revue des arts asiatiques* (dir. G. Salles) n'a pu faire paraître que deux fascicules formant son tome XIII (1939–42), R. Pfister, "A Propos de coqs sassanides," p. 28–35 (réponse à des critiques formulées par C. Picard, *Rev. Archéologique,* II (1938), 257–60, à l'endroit d'un précédent travail du même auteur: "Coqs sassanides," *Rev. des arts asiatiques,* XII (1938), 40–47. La discussion ainsi engagée s'est poursuivie, sous une forme dépourvue d'aménité, par un second article de C. Picard qui n'a point fait avancer la question: "Propos archéologiques sur des prétendus 'coqs sassanides,' " *Rev. archéologique,* 6ème sér., XVIII (1941), 61–120. On est en droit de se demander si ces beaux tissus ne sont pas d'époque omeyyade); G. Salles, "Nouveaux documents sur les fouilles de Chapour, 4ème et 5ème campagnes," p. 93–100 (découverte d'un īwān, de stucs sassanides et musulmans, et de mosaïques de pavement sassanides d'influence hellénistique).

Bibliothèque Nationale

Les collections de manuscrits orientaux n'ont subi aucun dommage: elles ne se sont pas accru, mais un plan méthodique pour la publication intégrale des manuscrits à miniatures a été arrêté, qui sera mis à exécution dès que les circonstances s'y prêteront.

Ex-Service des Antiquités du Haut-Commissariat au Levant

L'accession à l'indépendance de la Syrie et du Liban a entraîné la disparition du Service des Antiquités du Haut-Commissariat, mais les collections que publiait ou patronait celui-ci ont continué à paraître, simplement privées désormais d'attaches officielles.

Ralentie dans son rythme, réduite à des fascicules moins copieux, *Syria,* dont la direction est désormais assurée conjointement par MM. R. Dussaud, H. Seyrig et A. Parrot, n'a jamais complètement interrompu sa publication et a presque rattrapé son retard. Les quatre volumes parus contiennent plusieurs articles qui intéresseront directement les historiens de la civilisation musulmane:

Tome XX (1939): H. Buchthal, "The Painting of the Syrian Jacobites in Its Relation to Byzantine and Islamic Art," p. 136–50 (montre, par l'étude d'un manuscrit du British Museum—add. 7170—exécuté entre 1216 et 1220 que cet art est partiellement sous l'influence de la miniature islamique de Mossoul et de Bagdad).—D. Schlumberger, "Les Fouilles de Qaṣr el-Ḥeir el-Gharbi," p. 195–238 et 324–73: rapport préliminaire assez étoffé pour donner déjà une idée précise du site et de son importance pour l'étude de l'art et de la civilisation aux débuts de l'Islam. Sur les vestiges d'une installation antérieure dont elle a utilisé certains éléments (barrage du premier siècle, vestiges d'un monastère du

sixième siècle) a été créé à l'époque omeyyade une exploitation agricole comprenant des ouvrages d'irrigation (canalisation, citerne à ciel ouvert, bassin collecteur) et un verger entouré d'un mur d'enceinte; à cette exploitation était jointe une petite agglomération dont les organes essentiels ont été dégagés par la fouille: un château dont le rez-de-chaussée est intégralement conservé, un bain et un khan pourvu d'une petite mosquée; ce dernier porte une inscription du calife Hishām dont la date (109 H. [727 A.D.]) doit, de toute évidence, être étendue à l'ensemble. Bâtis en brique crue sur un soubassement de pierre de taille, ces édifices nous instruisent sur des techniques de construction jusqu'ici mal connues. Mais c'est dans leur décor que réside leur intérêt, véritablement sensationnel: orné avec un luxe tapageur, sur sa façade principale comme à l'intérieur, de mosaïques de verre, de stucs sculptés, de peintures sur enduit, de peintures sur béton (imitation économique de la mosaïque dont les fouilles d'Antioche ont livré d'autres exemples antérieurs à l'Islam), et de vitraux, le château constitue en répertoire exceptionnellement riche et varié de motifs ornementaux d'origines diverses (hellénistiques, sassanides, imitations directes de sculptures palmyréniennes). On y relève sans trop d'étonnement un nombre considérable de représentations humaines, dont certaines en très haut-relief et rehaussées de polychromie, et les prototypes des fleurons d'acanthe de Madīnat al-Zahrā que l'on s'était évertué à rechercher dans l'art des Wisigoths d'Espagne. L'assemblage, en cours,[1] des 30.000 fragments de stuc retrouvés nous réserve sans doute des surprises.—J. Sauvaget, "Les Ruines omeyyades du Djebel Seis," p. 239–56 (groupe homogène de ruines remontant à al-Walīd I: château, maisons d'habitation, mosquée, bain, grenier; pas de décor).

Tome XXI (1940): H. Seyrig, "Ornamenta Palmyrena antiquiora," p. 277–337 (nouveaux fragments d'ornements architecturaux comparables à certaines sculptures de l'Inde et de l'Iran, qui font apparaître Palmyre comme "un poste avancé de l'hellénisme oriental." Leur étude permet de juger plus sainement des antécédents de l'art omeyyade).

Tome XXII (1941): J. Sauvaget, "Les Inscriptions arabes de la mosquée de Bosra," p. 53–65 (dix textes jalonnant l'histoire du monument et attestant son origine omeyyade).—A. Sakisian, "Le Croissant comme emblème national et religieux de la Turquie," p. 66–80 (c'est l'Europe qui lui a donné la valeur d'un symbole, accepté ensuite par les Turcs).

La *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* en est à son quarantième volume.

Tome XXX, *Mélanges syriens offerts à M. R. Dussaud* (Paris, 1939) on utilisera: G. de Jerphanion, "Un Nouvel encensoir syrien . . .," p. 297–312 (l'objet, attribué par l'auteur aux sixième-septième siècles semble bien d'époque musulmane: treizième siècle. — Dj. Abd el-Kader, "Monnaies musulmanes et poids en verre inédits." p. 399–419.—G. Wiet, "Répertoire des décrets mamelouks de Syrie." p. 521–37.—R. Ghirshman, "Une Monnaie de Zyad i. Abu Sofian, gouverneur du Fars." p. 697–701—E. Combe, "Natte de Tibériade du Musée Benaki, à Athènes," p. 840–44 (avec inscription coufique).—A. Sakisian, "Les Faïences du bain de Selim II au harem du Vieux-Sérail," p. 959–63.

Tome XXXIV: P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des croisés en Terre-Sainte, II: la défense du royaume de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1939), xi+267 p., 96 pl.; présente les grandes forteresses de Kérak de Moab, Ṣubaybé, Beaufort, et Sidon,

[1] La façade du monument a été réédifiée au Musée de Damas, et les sculptures qui la chargeaient y reprendront leur place. Une traduction arabe, par E. Abū-Shabaké de l'article de D. Schlumberger vient de paraître à Beyrouth (55 p., 1945) avec une illustration un peu différente, mais de qualité médiocre. Les peintures sur béton, remarquables par la vivacité de leur coloris et leurs thèmes iconographiques (tritons, musiciennes, cavalier chassant) seront présentées par D. Schlumberger dans un des prochains fascicules des *Monuments Piot.*

avec les remaniements qu'elles ont subi après leur reconquête par les Musulmans.

Tome XXXVI: J. Sauvaget, *Alep: essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne des origines au milieu du XIXième siècle* (Paris, 1941), xlii+302 p., 62 fig., 70 pl.; est une étude d'histoire urbaine que l'état de la documentation a pratiquement limitée à un exposé du développement topographique et monumental de l'agglomération. On y suit les vicissitudes de la ville, considérée à la fois dans ses divers éléments et comme un ensemble organiquement constitué, depuis les origines accessibles de son histoire (vingtième siècle avant notre ère: il n'existe pas au monde de ville plus ancienne qui soit encore habitée et florissante) et plus particulièrement depuis l'époque héllénistique qui, avec la fondation sur le site d'une colonie macédonienne dont on retrouve sans peine le plan, marque le véritable point de départ de l'agglomération actuelle. L'ordonnance antique se dégrade lentement à l'époque byzantine, plus rapidement durant les premiers siècles de l'Islam, et la localité prend ainsi un facies nouveau, caractéristique, en rapport avec une mentalité nouvelle que l'on voit triompher au moment de la renaissance sunnite, au douzième siècle avec les Zengides; ces derniers et les Ayyūbides, qui leur ont succédé, amorcent une véritable renaissance de la ville, dont l'invasion mongole de 1260 annihile les effets. Malgré la mauvaise administration des Mamelouks, Alep trouve dans le commerce avec l'Europe et la Perse, depuis la fin du quinzième siècle, un élément de prospérité qui la fait se développer d'une manière ininterrompue, jusqu'à devenir la troisième ville de l'empire ottoman, dotée de souks et de khans qui surpassent de loin, par leur ampleur et leur magnificence, toutes les autres constructions à usage commercial qui se soient conservées dans le monde musulman. Basé sur l'interprétation des documents archéologiques et sur l'analyse des conditions historiques, cet exposé est illustré de relevés et de photographies de monuments inédits ou peu connus, qui améliorent notre connaissance de l'outillage de la vie urbaine, et des oeuvres, souvent si remarquables, de l'école architecturale syro-musulmane (c. r., R. Blanchard, *Revue de géographie alpine,* XXX [1942], 795; G. de Jerphanion, *En Terre d'Islam,* XVIII [1943], 186; R. Montagne, *Hespéris,* XXI [1944], 81–85; R. Hartmann, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung,* 47 [1944], 5–11).

Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris

En 1945, un enseignement d'histoire de l'art de l'Islam a été créé à la Faculté des Lettres, et confié à M. E. Lambert qui a traité les sujets suivants: Introduction à l'histoire artistique de l'Islam occidental, et La Civilisation arabe en Espagne. Des documents d'archives inédits ont permis à M. E. Lambert de restituer une église romane disparue dont certains détails témoignaient d'une influence de l'Espagne musulmane ("L'Ancienne église de Saint-Pé de Bigorre," *Échos de Saint-Pé,* nº 73–76, 1943); il a, d'autre part, traité d'ensemble la question de la transmission à la France de certains éléments hispano-mauresques ("La Peregrinación a Compostela y la arquitectura románica," *Archivo español de arte,* 59 [1943], 273–309).

Revue des Études Islamiques

La *Revue des études islamiques* (dir. L. Massignon) n'a pu poursuivre sa publication au-delà de l'année 1940.

Le volume de 1939 renferme une étude d'histoire et d'archéologie originale: M. Hamidullah, "Les Champs de bataille au temps du Prophète" (p. 1–13, 4 pl.: Badr, Uḥud et la "Guerre du Fossé" étudiés sur le terrain).

L'année 1940 apporte une volumineuse série d'*Abstracte Islamica* dont les sections relatives à l'archéologie (p. A. 49–82) et à l'histoire (p. A. 93–129) sont particulièrement riches.

Un volume est sous presse où l'on trouvera des "Glanes épigraphiques," par J. Sauvaget (avec une inscription importante du point de

vue de l'histoire de l'écriture ornementale).

Cahiers Archéologiques

Ce nouveau périodique, fondé et dirigé par A. Grabar, mérite d'être suivi avec attention par tous ceux qui étudient les oeuvres de la civilisation musulmane. Il annonce en effet qu'il s'attachera avec prédilection "aux travaux sur les origines de l'art médiéval et sur les rapports entre l'art du Bas Empire et l'art du Moyen-Age, entre l'art chrétien d'Orient et d'Occident." C'est là dire qu'il chevauche partiellement notre domaine et que nous attendons de lui des matériaux de comparaison. Le premier fascicule (Paris, 1945) apporte dès maintenant une contribution à l'esthétique de l'Islam: A. Grabar, "Plotin et les origines de l'esthétique médiévale" (p. 15–34), avec une note additionnelle de L. Massignon, "La Vision plotinienne et l'Islam (p. 35–36), et la publication de fragments de tissus fatimides trouvés dans la tombe d'un archevêque d'Arles (p. 57–62, par F. Benoît).

Institut d'Études Orientales (Alger)

Le Tome V des *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales,* entièrement imprimé, n'a encore pu sortir en raison d'un malheureux concours de circonstances: on y trouvera notamment une étude de G. Marçais sur le tombeau de Sīdī 'Oḳba, qui date cet édifice du début du onzième siècle.

Musée Stéphane Gsell (Alger)

Son directeur, M. G. Marçais, a conduit sur le site de la capitale des Rustemides, Tahert (aujourd'hui: Tiaret), des fouilles qui ont mis au jour, entre autres, les vestiges d'une ḳaṣba qui semble conforme au type des châteaux omeyyades d'Orient: les résultats en seront exposés dans un prochain fascicule de la *Revue Africaine.*

Le même auteur, dont on tient actuellement sous presse une petite histoire de l'art musulman, prépare une monographie de Tlemcen pour la collection *Les Villes d'art célèbres* (Laurens, éd.); il a étudié l'évolution de l'épigraphie en Berbérie orientale à la fin du onzième siècle ("Deux stèles funéraires hammadites. . . .," *Bulletin de la société historique . . . . de Sétif,* 1941, p. 171–78).

Société Historique Algérienne

La publication de la *Revue africaine* ne s'est pas interrompue.

Tome 85 (1941): G. Marçais, "La Berbérie au IXème siècle, d'après el-Ya'qoubi," p. 40–61 (importante contribution à l'histoire du peuplement); Mlle G. Chantreaux, "Le Tissage sur métier de haute lisse à Ait-Hicham et dans le Haut-Sebaou," p. 78–116 et 212–29 (étude fouillée d'une technique traditionnelle, suivie d'un glossaire des termes techniques berbères in tome 86 [1942], 261–313).

Tome 88 (1944): R. Godon, "Les Formes du batik dans l'Aurès," p. 116–22 (technique traditionnelle); Fr. Llabrador "Les Ruines de Taount," p. 181–201 (restes d'une bourgade berbère fortifiée); E. Pauty, "Les Hammams de Rabat-Salé," p. 202–26, relevés sommaires de douze bains, caractérisés par trois salles rectangulaires se développant transversalement et s'échelonnant l'une derrière l'autre entre la salle de déshabillage et la chaufferie; ce dispositif serait d'origine hispanique.

Direction des Antiquités de Tunisie

La dure bataille de Tunisie n'a pas été sans causer aux monuments musulmans des dommages qui ne sont pas encore complètement réparés: les grandes-mosquées de Sousse et de Sfax ont été atteintes par des bombes; les remparts de Kairouan ont été en partie rasés par les Allemands. Ces dévastations regrettables ont du moins permis l'accès à des édifices jusque-là strictement interdits aux non-musulmans: la grande-mosquée de Sousse s'est révélée comme une construction aghlabide, directement inspirée des ribāṭ, celle

de Sfax comme une mosquée aghlabide complètement rebâtie aux dixième-onzième siècles (études de G. Marcais en préparation; — v. déjà, du même, une étude sur le décor sculpté de la mosquée de Sousse après K. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* (Oxford, 1940), II, 251–53).

A Sousse, un musée est en cours d'installation dans des locaux de la ḳaṣba, certainement d'époque aghlabide, qui ont été restaurés à cette occasion. Un petit musée lapidaire a été créé à Kairouan par les soins d'une société archéologique tunisienne que préside un historien de grande érudition: Si Hassan Husni Abdul Wahab. Enfin, la Direction des Antiquités organise une section d'études architecturales qui aura pour tâche le relevé des monuments islamiques.

Revue Tunisienne

En sus de maintes contributions sur l'histoire de la Tunisie, la *Revue tunisienne* contient plusieurs articles de caractère archéologique: J. Farrugia de Candia, "Monnaies marocaines alaouites du Musée du Bardo," 1939, p. 249–365; H. H. Abdul Wahab, "Sur l'emplacement de Qairouan," 1940, p. 51–55; J. Farrugia de Candia, "Monnaies espagnoles et hafsides trouvées à Soma," p. 55–59; J. Farrugia de Candia, "Monnaies algériennes du Musée du Bardo," 1941, p. 123–73; G. Marçais, "Testour et sa grande-mosquée," 1942, p. 147–71 (étude d'une petite ville peuplée par des Morisques immigrés après 1610; mihrab de la Renaissance espagnole); J. Farrugia de Candia, "Monnaies husseinites," p. 179–201.

Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines

Hespéris a donné; Tome XXI (1944): M. Vicaire, "Note sur quatre mesures d'aumône inédites," p. 1–14 (publication de *mudd* anciens portant des inscriptions); dans le même fascicule, deux comptes-rendus de H. Terrasse sur de récents travaux archéologiques espagnols à ne pas ignorer: Torres Balbas, "Yeserías descubierdas . . .," *al-Andalus*, VIII (1943), stucs sculptés, et J. Ferrandis Torres, "Espadas granadinas de la jineta," *Archivo español de arte*, no 57 (1943) 142–66, première étude d'ensemble sur les épées mauresques de Grenade.

L'étude des techniques ornementales musulmanes profitera du tome IX de la "Collection Hespéris": Mme Brunot-David, *Les Broderies de Rabat* (Rabat, 1943), 1 vol. et atlas de 74 pl.; v. le c.r., avec importantes remarques, de Mlle M. Bel, *Revue africaine*, 1944, 156–62.

Des "Publications de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines," deux volumes sont à signaler ici:

Tome XXXVIII, H. Terrasse, *La Mosquée des Andalous à Fès* (Paris, s. d.), 54 p., 4 fig., 96 pl.: ne décrit pas seulement l'architecture de l'édifice, qui remonte à diverses époques, mais aussi son mobilier ancien: boiseries sculptées, fers forgés, lustres de bronze, et surtout son minbar de bois sculpté. Oeuvre fatimide datée 369 H. (980 A.D.), mais partiellement refaite par les Omeyyades d'Espagne quelques années plus tard et emboîtée par les Almohades dans un minbar d'un nouveau style, ce n'est pas seulement un document historique de premier ordre, mais aussi un témoignage capital sur la transmission au Maghreb des formules artistiques élaborées en Orient. Illustration et commentaire sont également dignes d'éloges.

Tome XXXIX, H. Terrasse, *La Grande-mosquée de Taza* (Paris, 1943), 72 p., 8 fig., 96 pl.: monographie complète de cet important monument, de fondation almohade, agrandi à l'époque mérinide son architecture n'apporte pas beaucoup de neuf mais son décor est riche en enseignements: plâtres sculptés, grilles de fenêtres ajourées, minbar en marqueterie, et surtout trois beaux lustres de bronze dont le plus grand, daté 694 H. (1294–95 A.D.), est "le chef-d'oeuvre de la bronzerie hispano-mauresque" en même temps que l'un des plus remarquables monuments

de ce genre qui se soient conservés en pays d'Islam.

Institut Français d'Afrique Noire

A signaler la découverte, à Gao, d'un lot important de stèles funéraires médiévales portant des épitaphes arabes (certaines, en coufique, remontent au douzième siècle). Leur étude, en cours, apportera des éclaircissements sur la pénétration de l'Islam au Soudan et sur les rapports culturels qui s'étaient établis entre l'Afrique du Nord et l'Espagne d'une part, et le royaume de Gao d'autre part.

Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Le Caire)

Privé par la guerre de pensionnaires spécialisés, l'Institut français du Caire n'en a pas moins continué, sous la direction de P. Jouguet, puis de C. Kuentz, à publier des oeuvres de caractère archéologique, grâce à l'inlassable activité de G. Wiet, directeur du Musée Arabe. Car celui-ci ne s'est pas borné à sortir cinq volumes de catalogues [2] et à collaborer à des périodiques égyptiens [3]: il a donné aux collections de l'Institut français cinq tomes du *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* (tome X [1939], années 601–26; tome XI [1942], années 626–53; tome XII [1943], années 653–80; tome XIII [1945], anneés 680–705; tome XIV sous presse) qui portent à 5600 le nombre des textes déjà publiés dans ce recueil.

Sourtout on saluera avec joie la reprise de cette grande oeuvre collective qu'est le *Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum:* pendant que s'achevait aux Etats-Unis le volume sur *Alep,* par E. Herzfeld et M. Sobernheim,[4] qui pourra sans doute être imprimé prochainement, G. Wiet préparait le volume sur *La Mecque et Médine,* d'après des copies rapportées par un jeune épigraphiste égyptien aujourd'hui décédé: Hassan Hawary. Le même G. Wiet établit en vue de sa publication l'index du volume *Jérusalem,* qui nous manquait si cruellement. J'ai moi-même commencé la rédaction du volume *Damas,* et la mise en chantier des sections Brousse et Stamboul est à l'étude.

Le tome I des *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes* a paru. Faute d'avoir le volume en mains, je n'en puis indiquer ici le contenu. Les seules contributions archéologiques que je connaisse sont: G. Wiet, "La Madrasa Khaiḍariya," p. 17–23; J. Sauvaget, "Un Relais du barîd mamelouk," p. 41–48; J. David-Weil, "Un Nouveau titre de propriété daté," p. 141–52.

Institut Français de Damas

Privé de la quasi-totalité de son personnel et sans possibilité de le remplacer, gêné dans ses travaux par les actes d'hostilité de 1941 et par l'agitation dont s'accompagnaient les crises politiques,[5] cet Institut, sous la direction de H. Laoust, n'en a pas moins déployé une activité scien-

[2] *Catalogue du Musée Arabe: stèles funéraires,* VI (1939), VII (1940), VIII (1941), IX (1941), X (1942).

[3] "Une Aiguière persane du XIIème siècle," *Bull. l'Instit. d'Égypte,* XXIII (1941), 63–66: vase en céramique; "Une Collection de faïences iraniennes," *ibid.,* XXIV (1942), 1–19: 17 pièces offertes par S. M. le Roi d'Égypte au Musée Arabe. "Nouvelles inscriptions fatimides," *ibid.,* XXIV (1943), 145–58: inscr. d'Esneh, Alexandrie, et de Bāb al-Futūḥ du Caire); "Une Peinture du XIIème siècle," *ibid.,* XXVI (1944), 109–18; "Miniatures persanes, turques et indiennes: Collection de S. E. Chérif Sabry pacha," *Mém. l'Instit. d'Égypte,* XLVII (1943); XIII + 183 p., 70 pl.

[4] E. Herzfeld, "Damascus: Studies in Architecture I," *Ars Islamica,* IX (1942), 1.

[5] Ces évènements n'ont entraîné aucun dégât notable dans les monuments historiques. A Damas, en 1941, une bombe est tombée entre la mosquée des Omeyyades et le tombeau de Saladin, mais sans détruire autre chose que des bâtiments sans intrérêt archéologique: la madrasa Djaḳmaḳiya a été assez gravement endommagée, mais pourra être reparée. Le si regrettable bombardement de mai 1945 n'a touché aucun édifice ancien. Les années de

tifique remarquable: groupant autour de lui toutes les bonnes volontés qui se rencontraient parmi les jeunes intellectuels syriens et les Français du Levant, il a accueilli leurs travaux et donné une grande masse de publications de valeur, dont certaines restent d'ailleurs en dehors du cadre que nous nous sommes fixé.

Les tomes IX–X du *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* (1942–43 et 1943–44), par exemple, ne contiennent pas d'étude de caractère archéologique. En revanche, le tome XI, actuellement sous presse, apportera une copieuse documentation: *Une Ancienne représentation de Damas au Musée du Louvre,* par J. Sauvaget (tableau italien de la fin du quinzième siècle, peut-être à attribuer à Gentile Bellini); *Toiles à inscriptions abbassides et fatimides,* par R. Pfister (inédites: de la riche collection de l'auteur); *Le Peintre Joseph de Damas et les mosaïques du Saint Sépulcre,* par A. Frolow (mosaïques de l'époque abbasside); v. aussi ci-dessous.

M. Écochard et C. Le Coeur, *Les Bains de Damas* ([Beyrouth, 1942–43], I, 57 p., 17 fig., 1 pl.; II, 132 p., 137 fig., 1 pl.) est un bel exemple de travail archéologique méthodique et consciencieux, poussé en profondeur. La première partie, bien documentée, claire et illustrée d'exemples expressifs, apporte les généralités utiles sur l'agencement et le fonctionnement des bains de Damas, et sur la place qu'ils tiennent dans la vie de la ville. Le second fascicule commente brièvement des relevés soignés et détaillés, et présentés avec goût, de 37 hammams typiques et s'efforce de suivre l'évolution du dispositif en partant des caractéristiques de quelques édifices datés. Les bains présentés surprennent à la fois par leur ancienneté et par leur aspect: une dizaine peut-être attribuée sûrement aux Zengides et aux Ayyūbides (douzième-treizième siècles), un même nombre aux Mamelouks (quatorzième-quinzième siècles); parmi les bains ottomans, une forte proportion n'est pas postérieure au seizième et au dix-septième siècles. En outre, les conditions très strictes qu'imposaient aux constructeurs les conditions d'utilisation de ces monuments n'ont pas empêché ces derniers de recevoir une ornementation (généralement limitée dans l'état actuel des lieux à un décor architectural) qui suit de très près celle des mosquées et des madrasas contemporaines: niches de formes diverses, alvéoles, dallages décoratifs. Il faut souhaiter que soit bientôt entreprise avec autant de soin, l'étude systématique des bains d'Alep qui ne manquera pas de livrer, comme celle-ci, des documents pleins d'intérêt.

A. Talas, *Les Mosquées de Damas, d'après Yousof ibn 'Abd al-Hādi* (Beyrouth, 1943), 332 p., 2 pl.: publication d'un texte arabe rédigé à la fin du quinzième siècle, donnant une liste des masdjid; en appendice, inventaire des 308 mosquées de la ville actuelle.

D'autres publications de l'Institut français de Damas, en cours d'impression en France au début de la guerre, ont paru sous l'occupation:

Les Monuments ayyoubides de Damas (Paris, 1940), fasc. 2, p. 51–112, fig. 29–63, pl. XIII–XX. L'une et l'autre très délabrées, la madrasa Raiḥānīya (1180) et la madrasa 'Adhrāwīya (1184–85) montrent un type nouveau de madrasa: sur les quatre faces de la cour se placent un oratoire, un īwān, et deux grandes salles rectangulaires; quatre petites pièces occupent les angles. La madrasa 'Izzīya hors-les-murs (1224) est d'un type usuel à Damas, mais sa coupole a conservé à l'extérieur des restes d'une décoration peinte et à l'intérieur un beau médaillon de plâtre sculpté. La madrasa 'Adilīya (fondée au douzième siècle achevée en 1223) est l'un des principaux monuments ayyūbides de

guerre se sont au contraire marquées, à Damas, à Alep et ailleurs, par des travaux de dégagement et de restauration d'une grande ampleur: je n'en fais pas état à cette place, car s'ils ont été effectivement exécutés par des architectes français, ceux-ci n'agissaient qu'en tant que fonctionnaires syriens, pour le compte du Gouvernement de la République Syrienne, et c'est à ce dernier qu'en doit revenir le mérite.

Damas: son architecture sobre, mais puissante, se rattache à l'école d'Alep bien plus qu'à celle de Damas. Trois bains ayyūbides de Damas: repris en partie dans M. Écochard et C. Le Coeur (v. supra).

J. Sauvaget, *La Poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des Mamelouks* ([Paris, 1941], 100 p., 21 fig., 8 pl.) expose l'histoire, le mode de fonctionnement et l'évolution de l'institution d'après les sources et une documentation archéologique inédite. Créée par Baibars, probablement à l'imitation des Mongols, la poste conserva d'abord le caractère d'une improvisation, se contentant d'installations de fortune. A partir du début du quatorzième siècle, elle reçut une organisation méthodique, que devaient ruiner l'invasion de Tamerlan et l'incurie des Mamelouks circassiens: certains de ses itinéraires étaient jalonnés de caravansérails,[6] les autres de bâtiments spécialisés, très différents de ceux qui abritaient les voyageurs.

Plusieurs volumes encore, prêts à être publiés, apporteront bientôt une documentation nouvelle sur les monuments de la Syrie musulmane: on se bornera à citer ici deux d'entre eux, dont l'apparition ne saurait plus beaucoup tarder. *La Mosquée omeyyade de Médine,* par J. Sauvaget, présente une restitution méthodique de la mosquée après sa reconstruction par le calife al-Walīd I, à la fin du premier siècle H.: cet édifice, sur lequel les sources arabes nous renseignent d'une manière très précise et très circonstanciée, est la plus ancienne des grandes-mosquées monumentales fondées par les Omeyyades et pose le problème des origines du dispositif adopté dans ces bâtiments. L'analyse des organes de la mosquée et des éléments du cérémonial de la khuṭba, et la comparaison avec les autres monuments des Omeyyades et de la Basse-Antiquité m'ont amené à considérer ce type de mosquée comme un compromis entre l'ordonnance de la mosquée de Mahomet et celle des salles d'audience basilicales des palais byzantins et romains. Ces dernières m'ont même paru être aussi le prototype de l'église de plan basilical. *Les Monuments ayyoubides de Damas,* fasc. 3 (le tombeau de Sābiḳ al-Dīn Mithḳāl; tombeau anonyme; le tombeau de Shibl al-Dawla; la madrasa Māridānīya; bois sculptés et vitraux).

L'Institut français de Damas a reçu en 1945 un nouveau pensionnaire orientaliste qui se consacrera à l'archéologie musulmane: Nikita Elisséeff.

École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem

Des RR. PP. Dominicains de l'École Biblique, les uns se sont trouvés retenus en France, les autres restaient en Palestine. Parmi ces derniers, le R. P. R. de Vaux a conduit près de l'église des Croisés à Ḳaryet el-'Enab (Abū-Gōsh) des fouilles qui ont amené la découverte d'un petit caravansérail de la fin du neuvième siècle, et de nombreux fragments de céramique musulmane qui seront présentés dans le tome XI du *Bulletin d'études orientales.*

Institut Français d'Archéologie de Stamboul

Son directeur, A. Gabriel, ayant été retenu en France et l'acheminement vers la Turquie de nouveaux pensionnaires étant impossible, cet Institut s'est trouvé durant la plus grande partie de la guerre sans autre personnel que H. Corbin, de la Bibliothèque Nationale, dont les recherches dans les fonds de manuscrits orientaux de Stamboul ont abouti à des publications de textes philosophiques arabes. Dans le domaine archéologique il faut ici signaler (en sus de plusieurs ouvrages parus, dans les collections de l'Institut, sur les époques antérieures à l'Islam) deux volumes se rapportant aux monuments musulmans:

A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale; avec un recueil d'inscriptions arabes* par J. Sauvaget ([Paris, 1940], 2 vol.,

[6] J. Sauvaget, "Caravansérails syriens du Moyen-Âge," *Ars Islamica,* VII (1940), 1–19.

xvi+374 p., 207 fig. et 119 pl.) apporte sur une région jusqu'ici très mal connue une documentation sinon exhaustive, du moins assez abondante pour constituer une excellente base de travail.

Mardin n'est pas seulement remarquable par son site, d'où l'on découvre un immense panorama, mais aussi par la fidélité avec laquelle elle a conservé son caractère ancien et par son architecture de pierre de taille, robuste et sobre: on peut à cet égard la rapprocher d'Alep. De sa citadelle, à laquelle son assiette conférait une puissance exceptionnelle, il ne subsiste que quelques bâtiments du temps des Aḳ-Ḳoyūnlū (quinzième siècle), notemment un petit palais bien conservé. La grande-mosquée, qui ne semble remonter que partiellement à l'époque ortoḳide, et les deux autres mosquées de la ville (quatorzième siècle) présentent le même type de salle de prière à coupole que la mosquée de Dunaisir [7] mais non pas la même richesse d'ornementation. Les deux principaux monuments sont la madrasa du sultan 'Īsā (1385) et la madrasa du sultan Ḳāsim (fin du quinzième siècle), apparentées l'une à l'autre par leur ordonnance: leur plan bien composé et les détails de leur construction et de leur décor accusent bien ce mélange de traditions locales et d'éléments "orientaux" qui caractérise l'architecture de la région.

Ḥiṣn Kayfā, dans un site grandiose et romantique, conserve du douzième siècle les substructions du palais des Ortoḳides et les restes d'un splendide pont de pierre, jeté sur le Tigre, dont l'arche médiane n'a pas moins de 40 m. de portée. Les autres monuments qui subsistent dans le château et les ruines de la ville ne sont pas indignes d'intérêt, malgré leur caractère provincial et leur date tardive (quinzième siècle), car on y relève tout à la fois des traits archaïques, et des apports des provinces orientales de l'art musulman: l'un d'eux, le tombeau de l'Aḳ-Ḳoyūnlū Zainal, construit en briques émaillées sur la tranche, relève même entièrement de l'architecture iranienne.

Diarbékir, que sa sévère architecture de basalte avait fait surnommer "Āmid la Noire" (Ḳara-Āmid) est célèbre par sa puissante enceinte fortifiée, conservée sur tout son périmètre et entièrement dégagée de constructions parasites. Tant d'inscriptions arabes chargent ses murs et ses tours qu'on la croyait de construction musulmane: l'examen méthodique qui a été fait de ces ouvrages a montré qu'ils datent en fait du quatrième siècle et que les inscriptions médiévales commémorent seulement des remaniements de détail qui n'ont pas gravement altéré le dispositif antique. Non moins inattendus ont été les résultats de l'étude de la grande-mosquée: la distribution des inscriptions de la cour et du minaret et les caractères de la salle de prière attestent que l'édifice a été rebâti de fond en comble; les matériaux anciens qu'on y voit n'étant plus *in situ,* la valeur documentaire de l'ensemble se trouve grandement diminuée. Deux madrasas ortoḳides de la fin du douziéme siècle se signalent par leur ordonnance, bien conservée, et par de gracieux détails ornementaux.

Très dégradée, l'enceinte fortifiée de Maiyāfāriḳīn est une oeuvre de Justinien qui a fait l'objet de remaniements assez importants à l'époque musulmane. La grande-mosquée conserve un décor original, sculpté dans la pierre, et la puissante coupole, avec trompes d'alvéoles, qui s'élève devant le mihrab: l'ensemble date, dans son état actuel, du douzième et du treizième siècle. Non loin de là, sur le Baṭmān-ṣu, un beau pont de pierre, de 1148, est orné de représentations figurées de caractère astrologique, comparables à celles du fameux pont de Djazīrat Ibn 'Umar; des représentations analogues se voient à Diarbékir, Ḥiṣn Kaifā et Maiyāfāriḳīn.

De l'Akhlāt médiévale il ne reste rien d'autre que quelques tombeaux, construits en lave brune, suivant ce type de tour cylindrique coiffée d'une couverture conique qui est si largement représenté en Perse et en Anatolie. Un autre, bâti

[7] Ce chapitre déjà avait été publié par M. Gabriel ("Dūnāysīr," *Ars Islamica,* IV [1937], 352–68).

en 1483 pour un prince turcoman, est d'un dispositif plus original.

La grande-mosquée de Kharpūt, de caractère provincial, remonte dans son ensemble au milieu du douzième siècle. Celle de Malatya conserve des restes significatifs d'une grande mosquée du treizième siècle que son ordonnance, son décor de briques émaillées et les détails de sa construction rattachent à l'art de la Perse seldjoukide; à côté d'elle, un beau caravansérail du dix-septième siècle Urfa conserve un minaret qui est probablement omayyade, une petite mosquée du treizième siècle et une jolie madrasa ottomane du dix-septième ou du dix-huitième siècle qui forme avec la source où s'ébattent les fameux poissons sacrés un ensemble séduisant.

La partie épigraphique donne le texte et la traduction de 160 inscriptions arabes, en majeure partie inédites jusqu'alors, qui renouvellent nos données sur la calligraphie ornementale (inscription de 464 H. [1071–72 A.D.] en Kūfic et Naskhī; inscription Kūfic de 590 H. [1193–94 A.D.]; Naskhī sur fond d'ornements floraux).

A. Gabriel, "Châteaux turcs du Bosphore," *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie de Stamboul,* (t. VI, 125 p., 64 fig. et 32 pl.) apporte une étude exhaustive de ces ouvrages, que les publications antérieures de S. Toy et de H. Högg n'avaient guère fait qu'effleurer. On n'y trouvera pas seulement des relevés détaillés, auxquels s'adjoint un commentaire archéologique plein de pertinence, mais encore un historique précis: l'examen des constructions et la critique des sources imposent indifféremment la même conclusion, à savoir que ces châteaux ne doivent rien à Byzance et sont entièrement l'oeuvre des Turcs (Anadoli Ḥiṣār a été fondé par Bāyazīd Yildirim en 1390–91 et renforcé par Mehmet II en 1452; Rumili Ḥiṣār date de 1452; Yedi Kule, pratiquement inédit jusque-là, semble avoir été construit en 1458).

Aux séries déjà publiées par cet Institut s'ajoutera bientôt un organe périodique: *Anadolu* (tome I en préparation).

Au cours de l'année 1945, l'Institut français de Stamboul a reçu en nouveau pensionnaire orientaliste: R. Mantran, qui compte se consacrer à des études d'histoire turque et d'épigraphie.

Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan

Désorganisée par la mort de J. Hackin, elle va reprendre ses travaux d'une manière régulière sous la direction de D. Schlumberger (1945), qui se propose de réserver aux monuments islamiques de l'Afghanistan leur juste part dans l'activité de la mission.

Le premier tome des *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan* a paru: A. Foucher, *La Vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila* (Paris, 1942), t. I. On y trouvera la description des édifices musulmans de Balkh (p. 64–67) et des vestiges d'un petit palais d'époque timouride exhumé au cours des fouilles dans cette localité (p. 100–112).

LITERATURE ON ISLAMIC ART PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND DURING THE WAR, 1939–1945

By Leigh Ashton

D. C. Baramki. Excavations of Khirbet el Mefjer IV, and The Pottery from Khirbet el Mefjer. Palestine Dept. Antiquities Quart., X (1942).

K. A. C. Creswell. Early Muslim Architecture Part II. Early 'Abbāsids, Umayyads of Cordova, Aghlabids, Ṭūlūnids and Samānids, A.D. 751–905. Oxford, 1940.[1]

Basil Gray. The Influence of Near Eastern Metalwork on Chinese Ceramics. Oriental Ceramic Soc. Trans., 18 (1940–41).

R. W. Hamilton. Khirbet el Mefjer. Stone Sculpture I. Palestine Dept. Antiquities Quart., X (1944); XI (1945).

W. L. Hildburgh. A Hispano-Arabic Silver-gilt and Crystal Casket. Antiquaries Journ., XXI (1941), 211.

[1] See review by M. B. Smith in this volume, p. 180.

P. KAHLE. Chinese Porcelain in the Lands of Islam. Oriental Ceramic Soc. Trans., Vol. 18 (1940–41).

A. LANE. Turkish Peasant Pottery from Chanak and Kutahia. Connoisseur, CIV (1939), 232.

L. A. MAYER. A Glass Bottle of the Atabeg Zangi. Iraq, IX (1939), 101.

MARC AUREL STEIN. Old Routes of Western Iran. London, 1940.[2]

The British Broadcasting Corporation introduced two small illustrated periodicals, *al-Mustami' al-'Arabī* ("The Arabic Listener," from 1940 onward) and *Rūzgar-i-Naw* ("The New Age," in Persian, from 1942 onward). These contained scattered popular articles on Islamic art by competent writers.

During the war period there died three of the elder generation of scholars who had made significant contributions to the study of Islamic art. Robert Lockhart Hobson, formerly of the British Museum, was especially known for his works on pottery and porcelain of the Far East, but his British Museum *Guide to Islamic Pottery* remains one of the best short books of its kind.[3] Laurence Binyon, like Hobson, his one-time colleague at the British Museum, devoted himself mainly to the art of the Far East; his writings on Islamic manuscript-painting profited the more from the author's deep understanding of painting in China and other Asiatic lands.[4] Arthur Rhuvon Guest became a considerable Arabic scholar while engaged on official duties in Egypt; and though his published work was mainly historical, for at least forty years the museums in Britain enjoyed the benefit of his advice in that difficult field of scholarship, the interpretation of Arabic inscriptions on works of art.

[2] See review by C. Hopkins in *Ars Islamica,* IX (1942), 217–21.

[3] See the obituary by B. Gray in *Ars Islamica,* IX (1942), 237.

[4] See the obituary by B. Gray in *Ars Islamica,* XI–XII (1946), 207–9.

INDIAN STUDIES IN ISLAMIC ART PUBLISHED DURING THE WAR, 1935–1945

By H. and A. Goetz

General

SURENDRAKISHORE CHAKRABORTY. Some Hindu Elements in Muslim Coinage of India. Proc. Third Ind. Hist. Congress, Calcutta, 1939. Calcutta, 1940. P. 672f.

Hindu weight. Bull, Lakshmi, Bull and Horseman, Portrait, Hawk, Elephant, Fish types on coins of Mahmud of Ghazni. Muhammad ibn Sām Ghōrī, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, Iltutmish, Nāṣir al-Dīn Mahmud, Balban, Akbar, Djahāngīr, Tippoo, and the nawabs of Oudh. Transcriptions of Arabic or Persian text in Nagari, the Kalimā in Sanskrit, Hindu ruler titles and fragments of religious inscriptions, after omission of the names of Hindu gods.

D. B. DISKALKAR. Some Old Guns in the Indore Museum. Journ. Ind. Hist., XXIII, Pt. 1 (1944), 40f.

Four guns of Raja Mān Singh of Amber, 1556 A.D. One of Sultan Sher Shah, 1531 A.D., and two European guns, Dunkerk, 1653, and Batavia, 1673, brought by Malhar Rāo Hōlkar from Bassein, 1739.

A. A. A. FYZEE. Islamic Culture. Journ. K. R. Cama Oriental Instit., 37 (1944), 1–40. Bombay, 1945.

A general survey. On p. 37 remarks on Muslim art.

D. P. GHOSH. Orissan Paintings. Journ. Ind. Soc. Oriental Art, IX (Calcutta, 1941), 194 f., illus.

Pure Hindu art; however, among the paintings the representation of a Muslim embassy to Orissa, in a style resembling the Masulipatam printed chintzes.

H. GOETZ. A Dynamic Theory of Indian Art History. Bull. Baroda State Mus., I, Pt. 2 (1944 [1945]), 1–17.

An interpretation of Indian art as a dynamic process of creative reinterpretation of tradition and creative assimilation of foreign influences. The history of Indo-Muslim art is explained as the slow transformation of a foreign colonial art into a national, all-Indian (Muslim *and* Hindu) style in three successive waves (15th

century, north; 16th–17th centuries, Deccan; 18th century, north).

Special Exhibition on Indian Art, 17–3—12–6–1944. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

Part of the exhibition was devoted to Indo-Muslim, Rajput, Sikh, and Maratha art. Some examples of pre-Mughal Indo-Muslim paintings were shown.

J. Hackin. The Buddhist Monastery of Fondukistan. Journ. Greater Ind. Soc., VII (Calcutta, 1940), 1 f., and 85 f., with pls.

An account of the ruins of Fondukistan, Ghoroband District, Afghanistan, excavated by the French Mission in 1937, Gandhara-Buddhist buildings, sculptures, and wall paintings, revealing style connections with pure Indian, Eastern Turkistan, and Sasanian art. Discovery of Kushano-Sasanian coins.

K. Khandalavala. Indian Sculpture and Painting. Bombay: Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1939, 84 pp., 61 pls., 21 in color. Price, Rs. 28/–.

A beautifully illustrated publication. Chap. XI deals with Indian miniature painting, medieval, Rajput, and Mughal; 3 color plates of Rajput and 3 of Mughal miniatures, 7 monochrome illustrations of Rajput miniatures. Reviewed in Journ. K. R. Cama Oriental Instit., Bombay, 35 (1942), 41–42.

P. C. Manuk. Indian Painting. Journ. Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc., 28, Pt. 1 (1942), 8 f.

A lecture of popular standard, but bringing some unpublished material, both for the Mughal and Rajput schools. It deals in broad outline with the history and development of "pictorial art" in India up to the recent past, beginning with the prehistoric period represented by drawings in red pigment found on the walls of caves in Central Provinces and United Provinces.

H. K. Sherwani. Some Aspects of Bahmanī Culture. Islamic Culture, XVII (1943), 25–35.

Sardar Ganda Singh. Muslim Relics with the Sikh Rulers of Lahore. Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress, Sixth Sess., Aligarh, 1943. Allahabad, 1944. P. 284 f.

Relics ascribed to Muhammad, Ali, Fatima, Hasan, Husain, 'Abd al-Ḳādir Gīlānī, and Awīs Ḳarnī.

W. E. Gladstone Solomon. The Lotus and the Rose: Some Influences of Indian Art on Europe. Islamic Culture, XIII (1939), 127–33.

Influence of Indo-Muslim art on European literature.

F. Vreede. Hindu Tradition and Islamic Culture in Javanese Civilization. Journ. Univ. Bombay, IX, n.s., Pt. 2 (1940–41), 127–36.

Indo-Muslim Architecture

Annual Rept., Mysore Archaeol. Dept., for 1941. Mysore, 1942. P. 107.

Chadragutti Hill, general view (Pl. XIX, 1); Fort Walls (Pl. XIX, 2 and 4); Mihrab of Mosque (Pl. XIX, 3).

S. K. Banerji. Jodh Bai's Palace at Fatehpur Sikri. Trans. Ind. Hist. Congress, Fifth Sess., Hyderabad, 1941. Hyderabad, 1943. Pp. 371 f.

Probably the principal hall of the zenana, erected about 1571.

Fīrūz Tughluq as Seen in His Monuments and Coins. Calcutta Rev., Nov., 1942.

A Historical Outline of Akbar's Dar-ul-Khilafat. Journ. Ind. Hist., XXI, Pt. 3 (1942), 198 f.

Tomb of Sheikh Salīm Chishtī and other buildings discussed, in connection with Akbar's religious reforms.

The Turkish Sultāna's House at Fatehpur Sikri. *Ibid.*, p. 209 f.

A reconstruction of the residence of the Chaghatāi-Turkish ladies of Akbar's house.

Ghiyāṣuddīn Tughlaq Shāh as Seen in His Monuments and Coins. Journ. U. P. Hist. Soc., XV, Pt. 1 (1942), 45–54.

The Historical Remains of the Early Years of Akbar's Reign, 1556–72. *Ibid.*, p. 88 f.

A Historical Outline of the Later Tughluq and the Sayyid Style of Architecture in India.

Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress, Sixth Sess., Aligarh, 1943. Allahabad, 1944. P. 196 f.

The Administration Buildings of Akbar's Fatehpur Sikri. Journ. Ind. Hist., XXIII, Pt. 1 (1944), 1 ff.

Akbar's Khwābgāh at Fatehpur Sikri. Ind. Culture, X, No. 4 (1944).

Akbar's retiring room, so-called Khwābgāh at Fatehpur Sikri, with its inscriptions in ornamental scrolls and its fresco paintings (including Buddhist-Chinese), together with the adjacent rooms corroborates the inference that the emperor was a vigorous worker and a benevolent ruler possessing a rare catholicity of mind.

The Monuments of Aurangzeb's Reign. Journ. U. P. Hist. Soc., XVI, Pt. 1 (1943), 138. I. C. Powell-Price number.

An enumeration.

Mariam-kī-kothi or Sunahra Makān of Fatehpur Sikri. *Ibid.*, XVII, Pt. 1 (1944), 103 f.

One of the most interesting buildings of Emperor Akbar, with pronounced Hindu architectural features and paintings with Hindu, Christian, and Persian (Shah Namah) subjects.

Shāh Jahān's Monuments at Agra. *Ibid.*, XVII, Pt. 2 (1944), 55 f.

Presidential Address (Mughal History Section). Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress, Seventh Sess., Madras, 1944. Allahabad 1946. P. 333 ff.

Rather general remarks on Mughal architecture.

The Tomb of I'timād-ud-daula at Agra. Islamic Culture, XVII (1943), 130–34, 3 pls.

Nūr Djahān the builder, responsible for the inlay fashion.

Muhamad Baqir. Lahore. Islamic Culture, XVIII (1944), 19–35.

A historical sketch; probably known already to Ptolemy, but of importance since Mahmud of Ghazni.

Percy Brown. Indian Architecture (The Islamic Period). Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1943. 140 pp., 246 illus. Price, Rs. 15/–.

Contents: Introduction. The Delhi or Imperial style: its beginnings under the Slave kings (*ca.* A.D. 1200–1246); the buildings of the Khaljī Dynasty (1290–1320); the Tughlaq Dynasty (1320–1413); the Sayyid (1414–51) and the Lodi (1451–1526) dynasties. Provincial style: the Punjāb (1150–1325); Bengal (1300–1550); the Mosques of Jaunpur (1360–1480); Gujarat, first and second periods (1300–1459); Gujarat, third or Begarha period (1459 to *ca.* 1550); Mālwa: the cities of Dhār and Mandū (15th century); Deccan; Gulbarga (1347–1422); Bīdar (1422–1512); Golconda (1512–1687); Bījāpur (16th and 17th centuries); Khāndēsh (15th and 16th centuries); Kashmīr (from 15th century). The buildings of Shēr Shāh Sūr: Sāsaram (1530–40); Delhi 1540–45). The Mughal Period: Bābur (1526–31); Humāyūn (1531–56); Akbar the Great (1556–1605); Jahāngīr (1605–27): The transition from stone to Marble; Shāh Jahān (1627–58): The reign of Marble; Aurangzēb (1658–1707) and after. The medieval palaces and civic buildings. The Modern Position.

Reviewed by H. Goetz in Aryan Path, XIV, No. 2 (1943), 88–89.

The Influence of Shēr Shah Sūr on the Islamic Architecture of India. Proc. Third Ind. Hist. Congress, Calcutta, 1939, p. 636 f. Also in Bengal Past and Present, 58–59 (1940), 58–63.

An appreciation of his buildings at Purāna Kila, Sasaram, etc., and of their role (especially Ḳal'a-i-Kuhna Mosque) as a link between the architecture of the Delhi sultanate and that of the Mughal empire.

M. A. Chaghtai. Austin de Bordeaux and the Tāj Mahal, Agra. Proc. Ninth All-Ind. Oriental Conf., Trivandrum, 1937. Trivandrum, 1940. P. 833 f.

Austin de Bordeaux was a French goldsmith and inventor, but never meddled with architecture and left the Mughal court early in the reign of Shah Jahan, long before the Taj was begun. Lieutenant Colonel Sleeman in his *Rambles and Recollections* first declared him the architect of the Taj, with arguments based merely on rumors and legends.

Is There a European Element in the Construction of the Tāj Mahal in Agra? Islamic Culture, XIV (1940), 196–206.
Geronimo Veroneo and Austin de Bordeaux only artisans, not connected with the building.

Poona in the Muslim Period. Bull. Deccan College Res. Instit., II (1941), 406 f.
Poona, the present capital of the Maratha country, was in the early Indo-Muslim period a village on the Dawlatābād-Kondhana (Singh-Gaḍh) road, colonized by Sheikh Salāḥ al-Dīn (d. 1358 A.D.), a disciple of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā, and Sayyid Ḥisām al-Dīn Ḳattāl Zandjānī (d. 1390 A.D.), whose tombs are in former Hindu temples. In 1598 A.D. Akbar's armies took Poona fort. In Shah Jahan's time Djāgīr of Shāhadjī Bhonsla, father of Sivaji; taken by Aurangzeb, in 1664 Sivaji surrendered there to Raja Jai Singh, in 1702 Poona called Muḥyīābād, after a deceased son of Prince Kām Bakhsh, in 1707 given to Shāhū, grandson of Sivaji, in 1749 under Pīshwās.

Indo-Muslim Architecture. Ann. Bhandarkar Or. Res. Instit., 22 (1941), 85–93.
Emphasizes the Muslim contribution to Indo-Muslim architecture which most Indian writers tend to disregard. The arrangement of the underground sepulchral vault in the Taj at Agra is the same as that in the Gūr-i-Mīr at Samarkand.

The Place of Tāj in World Architecture. *Ibid.*, 23 (1942), 71 f.
Emphasizes Central Asian elements in the Taj Mahal at Agra.

Pietra-Dura Decoration of the Tāj. Islamic Culture, XV (1941), 465–72, 3 pls.
Only small figural plaques of Delhi throne room are Italian.

Muslim Monuments of Ahmadābād Through Their Inscriptions. Bull. Deccan College Res. Instit., III, No. 2 (1942), 79–180, illus.
Contents: List of inscriptions in chronological order and bibliography. Introduction (history of medieval Gujarat, authorities, role of inscriptions, Muslim sultans, their titles, etc., peculiarities of Ahmadabad inscriptions. Analysis of the text). The inscriptions (Muslim inscriptions of the Rajput period). Earliest inscriptions referring to the Muslim Dynasty of Gujarat. Foundation of Ahmadabad and the City Wall. Monuments of Ahmed Shah. Sarkhedj monuments. Other mosques. Rawḍa of Shah Ālam. Bāi Harīr's monuments. The royal tombs. Other tomb slabs. Sarāi of A'zam Khan. Tomb of Nawab Shadjā'at Khan). Conclusion.

Nāgaur—A Forgotten Kingdom. *Ibid.*, II (1940), 166 f., illus.
Nāgaur (Nāgore) on Jodhpur-Bikaner railway (Rajputana) already twice a shortlived Muslim principality under the Ghaznevids and Ghōrids, became early in the 15th century a vassal kingdom of Gujarat, under the Khānwāda dynasty founded by Shams Khan Dandānī, a younger brother of Muẓaffar I. Later, under the suzerainty of the Lodīs, it had a hard struggle against the Rajputs of Mewar and Marwar, until it was annexed by Mal Dēo of Jodhpur in 1526. Monuments: gateway of the sanctuary of Tārikīn, the Shams Masjid; Tin Darwāza (Gujarat style); and Akbarī Masjid and Hāthī Pol (early Mughal style).

Nandalal Chatterji. When Was Akbar's Tomb Begun. Trans. Ind. Hist. Congress, Fifth Sess., Hyderabad, 1941. Hyderabad, 1943. P. 353 f.
Begun in the first and completed in the seventh year of Djahāngīr's reign.

K. N. Dikshit. A Panel Showing the Birth of Lord Krishna from the Qutb Mosque. Journ. U. P. Hist. Soc., XVII, Pt. 1 (1944), 84 f., illus.
Explanation of a 9th or 10th century Vaishnava sculpture on a stone beam built into the Ḳuwwat al-Islām Mosque, Lāl Kot, Delhi.

H. Goetz. The Pathān Tombs of Sarhind. Islamic Culture, XIII, Pt. 3 (1939), 313–18, 1 pl.
Until its destruction by the Sikhs, Sarhind had been a flourishing Muslim town of the Punjab. The tombs in question now are its only remnants. Discovered by Sir A. Cunningham, they had again fallen into oblivion. They are of the late Tughluḳ, Lōdī, and early Mughal period. In the last there are floral wall paintings of the time of Baber or Humayun.

Indo-Muslim Architecture in Its Islamic Setting. Journ. Univ. Bombay, VIII, Pt. 4 (1940), 40–51, illus.

An analysis of the purely Muslim contributions to Indo-Muslim architecture, Seljuk (Indo-Mameluke, Khildjī, and Tughluḳ dynasties), Ilkhānī (Kashmir), early Timurid (Sharḳī and Bahmanī dynasties), Mameluke-Egyptian (Gujarat, Malwa, Sūrī dynasty), late Timurid-Safawid (early Grand Mughals).

The Fall of Vijayanagar and the Nationalisation of Muslim Art in the Dekhan. Journ. Ind. Hist., XIX, Pt. 2 (1940), 249–55.
After the fall of the Tughluḳ empire the Seljuk-Turkish art tradition of Muslim India was in the Deccan supplanted by a purely Persian style under the Bahmanīs. But after the fall of the last great Hindu empire, Vijayanagar, its art invaded the Deccan sultanates from which contact the later Muslim art of southern India was born.

Archaeological Observations on Sātārā Fort. Volume of Studies in Indology Presented to Professor P. V. Kane, M.A., on his 61st Birthday. Poona, 1941. Pp. 200–205.
Survey of the building history of Sātārā Fort: medieval Hindu walls, Bahmanī gate, mosque and Bala Ḳal'a (ruins), Ādilshāhī and Mughal palace (ruin, prison of Chānd Bībī), Maratha palace, and temples.

New Researches on Indian Art in the Muhammedan Period. Journ. U. P. Hist. Soc., XII, Pt. 1 (1939), 87.
Summary of lectures by H. Goetz on style groups in their relation to Hindu and Near Eastern developments.

Gope Gur-Bax. A Note on Jami Masjid at Thatta (Sind). Proc. Tenth All-Ind. Oriental Conf., Tirupati, March, 1940, pp. 366–67.
According to the inscriptions built by the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan 1644–47 A.D., flooring completed 1658 A.D.

A. Halim. Sikander Lōdī as a Founder. Proc. Third Ind. Hist. Congress, Calcutta, 1939. Calcutta, 1940. P. 842 f.
Sultan Sikandar Lodī (1489–1517) is the founder of Agra and Sikandra, later to become famous for their Mughal monuments, and of eleven other towns and many small places.

A Note on the Place of Sultān Sikandar Lōdī's Enthronement. Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress, Sixth Sess., Aligarh, 1943. Allahabad, 1944. P. 397 f.
On the ruins, near Djalālī, of the buildings connected with the coronation of Sultan Sikandar Lodī in 1489 A.D.

St. Harding. Māndū, City of Joy. Illus. Weekly of India, Oct. 27, Nov. 3, 1940.
Good photographs.

Hidayet Hosain. A Note on the Ruins of Masjidkur and Amadi. Islamic Culture, XIV, Pt. 4 (1940), 454–56.
Mosque of Masdjidkur, one of the best specimens of Bengal architecture, 15th century.

Chand Husain. See: C. Y. Shaikh.

Mahdi Hussain. Agra before the Mughals. Journ. U. P. Hist. Soc., XV, Pt. 1 (1942), 80 f.

S. M. Jaffar. A Monument of the Mughal Period: Mosque of Mahābat Khan in Peshāwar. Islamic Culture, XIV (1940), 30–32.
Akbar to Aurangzeb, mostly the later period.

Gulam Ahmed Khan. History of the City of Aurangābād. Trans. Ind. Hist. Congress, Fifth Sess., Hyderabad, 1941. Hyderabad, 1943. P. 604 f.

H. R. Krishnan. Asurgarh—An Unexplored Ruin. Journ. Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc., XXV (1939), 52 f.
A ruined fort in Darbhanga district, possibly a Muslim structure erected by some adventurer "Asur" Shah (Asur = Hindu nickname for a disliked cruel foreigner) on an earlier, Buddhist site.

S. S. Majumdar. Teliagarhi: The Fort That Decided the Fate of Bengal. Proc. Third Ind. Hist. Congress, Calcutta, 1939. Calcutta, 1940. P. 786 f.
Brief description and detailed history (from the Muslim conquest to 1729 A.D.) of the fort controlling the easiest pass over the Rajmahal Hills, which separate Bengal from Bihar.

DHARM PAL. Poetry and Architecture in the Time of 'Alā' ud-dīn Khiljī. Islamic Culture, XIX (1945), 245.

Not much new.

BAINI PRASHAD (PRASAD). A Note on the Buildings of Humāyūn. Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, V (1939 [1940]), 458 f.

An analysis of the literary sources on the buildings of the Mughal emperor Humayun, especially the rediscovered complete text of Khwāndamīr's Humāyūn-Nāma; mentioned, besides Dīnpanāh at Delhi: a palace in Agra Fort, a "wonderful building" on the banks of the Jumna at Agra, and a building in Gwalior Fort.

Emperor Humāyūn's Tower at Sārnāth, Benares. Bengal Past and Present, 63 (1943), 11–17, 1 illus.

Built 1538–39, on way to Bengal, repaired 1567–68 by Bāyazīd Biyāt.

SHAIKH A. RASHID. Koil Minār—Who Built? Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress, Sixth Sess., Aligarh, 1943. Allahabad, 1944. P. 196 f.

History of a now destroyed minār and mosque at Aligarh, erected by the later Sultan Balban in 1254. Cf. also M. Aziz and A. Halim, the so-called Balban Inscription of Koil.

N. B. ROY. A Peep Into the Delhi Court During the Reign of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh. Trans. Ind. Hist. Congress Fifth Sess., Hyderabad, 1941. Hyderabad, 1943. P. 313 f.

Contains also a description of the monuments erected by Fīrūz Shah.

S. K. SARASWATI, Indo-Muslim Architecture in Bengal. Journ. Ind. Soc. Oriental Art, IX (1941), 12 f.

On the pre-Mughal architecture at Gaur, Panduah, Goaldihi, Kheraul, Devīkōṭ, etc. Analysis of the types.

S. N. SEN. A Note on the Purāna Qil'a of Delhi. Journ. Ind. Hist., XX, Pt. 1 (1941), 35 f., with illus.

On some sculptures at the gates of Shēr Shah's fort, showing elephants, a puny man fighting with a giant lion, and the sun.

C. H. SHAIKH. Ṣalābat Khān II of Ahmednagar. Trans. Ind. Hist. Congress, Fifth Sess., Hyderabad, 1941. Hyderabad, 1943. P. 596 f.

Lists the buildings erected by this statesman of Ahmadnagar kingdom.

CHAND HUSAIN [SHAIKH]. Ṣalābat Khān II. Islamic Culture, XVIII (1944), 187.

All-powerful statesman of Ahmadnagar, *ca.* 1519–89. Description also of his buildings, Bāgh-i-Farah Bakhsh, Chānd-Bībī-kā Mahall, Tisgāon, Taltam Fort.

C. SCHWEITZER. Muslim Waterworks. Islamic Culture, XIII (1939), 87–92.

Fountains, aqueducts, etc. in Muslim India.

H. K. SHERWANI. The Great Bahamanī Wazīr Mahmūd Gāwān. Allahabad, Kitabistan, 1942.

Some remarks also on his building activities. Reviewed by K. Sajun Lal, in Ind. Hist. Quart., 18 (1942), 85.

Muhammad I, Organiser of the Bahmanī Kingdom (11–2–1358—23–3–1375). Journ. Ind. Hist., XXI, Pt. 3 (1942), 173 f.

Describes also the monuments of Gulbarga.

Tāju' d-dīn Fīrōz and the Synthesis of Bahmanī Culture (17–11–1397—22–9–1422). New Ind. Antiquary, VI, No. 4 (1943), 75 f.

Describes his tomb at Gulbarga ("The acme of his engineering skill") and his zenana town, Firozabad ("with unique structural ideas").

G. YAZDANI. Monument of Ḥaḍrat Āṣaf Djāh I, Burhānpur. Ann. Rept. Archaeol. Dept. of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, 1346 F. (=1936–37 A.D.). Calcutta, 1939. P. 2, Pl. IV.

Platform and djālī screen, 1748 A.D., at Zainābād, 5 m. from Burhānpur.

Monuments in the City of Hyderabad. *Ibid.*, p. 2 ff.

Mosque of Shaikhpet (Pl. Va.); Kuṭb Shāhī Mosque at Mīr-kā Dāira; Sapola Burdj, Gulbarga; gun, 1673 A.D., by Mathrā Dās, son of Rāmdjī, at Asīr; mosque of Ṣāliḥa Bībī, 1067 H., mosque and tomb of Nawab Mirza Muhammad Mahdi, 1708 A.D.

Monuments of Gulbarga. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
Langar-kī-Masjid, ribbed vault (Pl. VIa), Shah Bāzār Mosque.

Gulbarga: Purānī Īdgāh, Khānḳāh of Ḥaḍrat Khwādja Gēsū Darāz Banda Nawāz. *Ibid.*, 1347–49 F. (=1937–40 A.D.), p. 2.

Sheikh-ka-Rawḍa. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Golconda, Ashrafi Masjid, Chini Masjid (1589 A.D.), Nūr al-Dīn Muhammad 'Arab's Dargāh. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
Repair of Tomb of Chānd Bībī.

Indo-Muslim Epigraphy

KHWAJA MUHAMMAD AHMAD. Some New Inscriptions from Golconda Fort. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1937–38, pp. 47–52, Pls. XVI–XVIIIa.
(1) Bastion of Aurangzeb 1666 A.D., (2) Bastion of Aurangzeb 1679 A.D., (3) Mosque 1569 A.D., (4) Mūsā Burdj 1656 A.D. by Sultan Muhammad son of Aurangzeb.

MAULAVI SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD. The Navagram Inscription of Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh of Bengal. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1937–38, pp. 37–38, Pl. XIIa.
Pabna district, like Eklakhī Masjid of Pandua, erection recorded by Nāṣir al-Dīn Nuṣrat Shah, 1526 A.D.

Three Inscriptions of Bengal. *Ibid.*, 1935–36, Pl. XXXVIII.
(1) Hatkhola, erection of mosque by Khurshīd Khan, 1463. (2) Inchlabazar, construction of a mosque, 1703 A.D. by Sayyid Ṭāhir under Aurangzeb.

Two Inscriptions from Shērpūr, Bogra District, Bengal. *Ibid.*, 1937–38, pp. 117-22.
Erection of mosque, 1582 A.D. by Murād Khan Ḳāḳshāl during the revolt against Akbar.

M. AZIZ AHMAD and A. HALIM. The So-called Balban Inscription of Koil (Aligarh). Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress, 4th Sess., Lahore, 1940. Lahore, 1942. P. 195 f.
The inscription (1254 A.D.) generally is ascribed to the later Sultan Balban, when governor under Nāṣir al-Dīn Mahmud, but belongs to Kutlugh Khan Balban al-Shamsī, his opponent, who took part in the rebellion of Kishlū Khan 1257–58.

M. A. CHAGHTAI. The Earliest Muslim Inscription in India from Ahmedabad. Proc. 3rd Ind. Hist. Congress, Calcutta, 1939. Calcutta, 1940. Pp. 647–48, illus.
Arabic inscription in the Kaach Masjid, Tajpur quarter, dated 445 H. (1035 A.D.), i.e., about twenty-five years after the death of Mahmud of Ghazni, when Gujarat was still under Hindu rule.

An Incomplete Inscription from Ahmadābād. Journ. Gujarat Res. Soc., III (1941), 171–73, 1 pl.
In Central Mihrab of 'Ālam-Dīn's Mosque, west of Shah Wājih al-Dīn's Tomb, 815 H. (1412 A.D.) at Ahmadabad.

Malik Hājjī's Garden House Inscription (at Ahmedābād). Bull. Deccan College Res. Inst., IV (1943), 358 f.
Arabic inscription, 1460 A.D., mentioning the gardens of Malik Hadji, 'Imād al-Mulk of Sultan Mahmud Begaḍah of Gujarat, lately discovered in a modern Ahmadabad mosque, built in the mihrab.

KHAN BAHADUR ZAFAR HASAN. An Inscription of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī Recently Discovered at Muttra. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1937–38, pp. 59–61, Pl. XXIc.
At Sāmī Ghat, probably referring to erection of mosque by Almās Beg Ulugh Khan 1297–98 A.D.

FAZAL AHMAD KHAN. Three Inscriptions from Gingee. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1937–38, pp. 42–45, Pl. XIV.
(1) Erection of bastion 1643 A.D., (2) Construction of mosque at Nuṣratgarh 1718 A.D., (3) Inscription in Sa'd Allāh Khan's Mosque 1723 A.D.

Three Inscriptions from the Indī Taluka, Bijapur District. *Ibid.*, pp. 45–47, Pl. XV.
(1) Frontier stone of 'Ala al-Dīn Ahmed Shah Bahmanī (1435–57), at Halsingi, (2) Dargāh at Pīrapur built by Malik 'Abd al-Ḳādir under Ibrāhīm 'Ādilshāh II, (3) do., for connected well 1593 A.D.

Q. M. Moneer. Three Persian Inscriptions of Allāhvardī Khān Turkmān from the Ancient Hill Forts in the Nāsik District. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1937–38, pp. 7–13, Pls. IV–Va.

Chandor 1636 A.D.; Indrā'ī 1636 A.D.; Dhodap 1636 A.D.

A Persian Inscription from the Jāmi' Masjid at Champaner. *Ibid.*, 1937–38, pp. 13–17, Pl. Vb.

Erection of pulpit by Mahmud Begṛa in 1508–9 A.D.

Muslim Inscriptions from the Baroda State, ed. by G. Yazdani and R. G. Gyani. (Mem., No. III, Vol. II). Baroda, 1944. 18 pp., 6 pls.

12 inscriptions from Karkhadi (1304 A.D.), Beṭ (1376 A.D.), Baroda (1405, 1811 A.D., and without date), Dasaj (1480 A.D.), Patan (1542 A.D.), Kadi (1609, 1797, and 1897 A.D.), Vādnagar (1633 A.D.), Amreli (1687–88).

Ram Singh Saksena. Muslim Inscriptions from Bhonrasa, Gwalior State. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1937–38, pp. 22–34, Pls. VII–X.

Chanderi District: (1) Hindī-Persian of Ghiyāth Shah of Malwa 1483 A.D., fragmentary, apparently for protection of a Hindu temple, (2) Persian: construction of a well by order of Akbar, 1584 A.D., (3) Construction of fort by Hasan Khan under Akbar 1594 A.D., (4) In Djāgīrdār's mosque, 24th regnal year of Aurangzeb 1683 A.D., (5) Great Mosque in Baḍa Bāgh, constructed by Nawab Ikhlāṣ Khan 1685 A.D., (6–8) Verses from same Mosque, (9) Another mosque in Baḍa Bāgh, completion under Aurangzeb 1683 A.D., (10) Completion of a well in Baḍa Bāgh, apparently connected with Ikhlāṣ Khan's mausoleum 1691 A.D. Bandī Bāgh inscriptions: (11) Bina Neokī Masjid 1640 A.D. erected, (12) Bandī Wālī Mosque completed A.D. 1640 under Shah, Jahan, (13) Repair of 'Īdgāh by Faḍl Ali Khan 1911 A.D.

Some Moslem Inscriptions from Gwalior State. *Ibid.*, 1935–36, pp. 52–57, Pls. XXXVIb-XXXVII.

(1) Pawaya; poetic chronicle of Iskandarābād Fort 1505 A.D. (2) Dhūm-Pawaya: undated protective inscription for Siva Temple, probably by Bīr Singh Dēo of Oṛchhā (edict of Djahāngīr). (3) Gwalior: on pilaster of mausoleum of Ḥaḍrat Muhammad Ghawth 1598-9 A.D. (prayer).

B. D. Varma. 'Ādil Shāhī Epigraphy in the Deccan. Journ. Univ. Bombay, VIII (n.s.), Pt. 1 (1939), 13–51, 6 pls., 24 illus.

G. Yazdani. Five Inscriptions from the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1937–38 (1941), pp. 38–41, Pls. XIIb–XIIIc.

Of 'Alā al-Dīn Khaldjī and Mubārak Shah Khaldjī, repair of a mosque by Sar-Andāz Khan, an official of Shah Jahan in 1635 A.D.; Akbar 1577 A.D.; Ḳutb al-Dīn Mubārak Khaldjī 719 H.; and Firūz Shah 734 H. (almost illegible). Gate erected 1758 A.D.

Five New Inscriptions from the Bīdar District. *Ibid.*, pp. 1–4, Pls. I–II.

Of the Barīd Shāhīs, partly bilingual (Persian and Marathi).

Inscriptions from Kalyāni. *Ibid.*, 1935–36, pp. 1–14, Pls. I–VIII.

Old Chalukya, capital of Deccan, Bahmanī Fort, inscriptions on foundation of Jami Masjid in reign of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ, 1323 A.D., and on erection of another mosque of Burhān Tihār Safīrī under Muhammad bin Tughluḳ 1334. Tombstone of Sayyid Hāshim 1459. Twelve 'Adilshāhī inscriptions 1563 (bastion erected by Kāmil Khan under Ali I), 1567, 1568, 1573, 1580 (town wall completed by Dilāvar Khan), 1568 (Shāhpur-kī Masjid, under Ibrāhīm II), 1592 (Rādj Maḥall erected), 1646 (palace by Sidī Dilāvar), 1677 (tombstone), not dated (palace built by Khavāss Khan), not dated (gun on bastion, under Mubārak Shah Fārūḳī of Khandesh). Mostly in Persian.

Inscriptions from Mudgal. *Ibid.*, pp. 14–19, Pls. IX–XI.

Fortress much disputed between Gulbarga and Vijayanagar, later under Bijapur, 1588 A.D. (bastion erected under Ali 'Ādilshāh), 982 H. (bastion built), 1583 (991 H.), not dated (mosque built), 1585 (in a mosque), not dated (erection of a bastion), 1642 (Ghagan Maḥall built by Muhammad 'Ādil Shah).

Inscriptions from the Taltam Fort. *Ibid.*, pp. 20–21, Pl. XII.

1581 (Fort Gateway built under Murtaza Nizam Shah), 1704 (Gateway built under Aurangzeb by Abū Sa'īd ibn Ḥātim Khan).

Inscription of Mubārak Shāh Khaljī from Jalor, Jodhpur State. *Ibid.*, 1935–36, pp. 49–50, Pl. XXXVIa.

1318 A.D. of Malik Tādj al-Dīn Mahmud, of Sultan Iltutmish.

Inscription of Ghiyāthu'd-din Tughluq from Asrawa Khurd near Allahābād. *Ibid.*, 1937–38, pp. 6–7, Pl. IIIb.

Fact missing, 721 H. (1321 A.D.).

Inscription of Sultan Balban from Bayana, Bharatpur State. *Ibid.*, 1937–38, pp. 5–6, Pl. IIIa.

Records digging of a well, 13th century (in Persian).

An Old Urdū Inscription of Aḥmad Shāh II of Gujarāt. *Ibid.*, 1935–36, pp. 50–51.

1556 (contains genealogy of Gujarat sultans and two early Urdu couplets.)

A Quṭb Shāhī Inscription from Patancheru, Medak District, Hyderabad State. *Ibid.*, 1935–36, pp. 60–62, Pl. XXXIX.

Erection of a vault by 'Abd al-Ḳādir Amīn Khan 1583 A.D. under Ibrāhīm Ḳuṭb Shah.

Some Muslim Inscriptions from the Madras Presidency and Orissa. *Ibid.*, 1937–38, pp. 52–59, Pls. XVIIIb–XXa.

(1) Poonamalle Mosque, Chingleput, of Mīr Djumla, 1653 A.D., (2) Cuddapah record of breaking of idols and erection of mosque by Aurangzeb's officials 1692 A.D., (3) a Cuddapah mosque erected by 'Abd al-Nabī 1723 A.D., (4) Tomb of Ḥaḍrat Ahmed Shah at Cuddapah 1744– A.D., (5–6) Nizāmpatnan 1617 and 1625 A.D. dargāh tombs of Khwādjal Shah Ḥaidar of Isfahan and Zain al-'Abidīn of Ardistan, (7) Mosque built by Fatima Begam 1774 A.D.

Some New Inscriptions from Golconda and Hyderabad. *Ibid.*, 1935–36, pp. 21–33, Pls. XIII–XXII.

1633–34 (Shaikhpet Masjid, Golconda, built by Luṭf Allāh al-Ḥusainī al-Tabrīzī), 1673 (gun made by Mathrā Dās, son of Rāmdjī at Asīr). 1656 (tomb slab), 1626 (Hadji Kamāl's Masjid, Hyderabad), 1678 (tomb slab near Taihmāsp Khan's Mosque, Hyderabad), 1783 (tomb slab at the Kālī Ḳabr, Hyderabad), 1593 (Begam's Mosque, Hyderabad), 1597 (tomb of Murshid Ḳulī ibn Ḳāsim Beg at Mughalpur), 1655 (tomb slab), 1567 (Ṣāliḥ Begam Mosque, Hyderabad), 1700 (Mosque near Kotla Ali Djāh), 1019 H. (Mahdī Khan's tomb), 1619, 1627, 1667, 1699 (tombs in the Ghassālwāṛī, Hyderabad City).

Some Unpublished Inscriptions from the Bombay Presidency. *Ibid.*, pp. 36–47, Pls. XXV–XXXVa.

(1–13) Ahmadnagar: 1578 (well), 1566 (Kali Masjid), 1531 (Sunaihrī Masjid built), not dated (verses from tomb of Shah Sawār Ghazi), 1540 (Rawḍa Bāgh, tomb of Ahmed I Nizam Shah), not dated (on bastion). (14–18) Sātāra District (Karad=Karhar, one 1664). (19–20) Surat (on tombs 1578, 1812). (21–22) Broach 1560 (tomb of 'Imād al-Mulk), not dated (mosque built by 'Abd al-Laṭīf).

Two Inscriptions from Dhamoni, Saugor District, C.P. *Ibid.*, 1937–38, pp. 34–37, Pl. XI.

Well inscription 1615 A.D. and completion of mosque by Randulāh Khan 1671 A.D., a favorite commander of Aurangzeb.

Two Mughal Inscriptions from Ānad near the Ajaṇṭā Ghat, Hyderabad State. *Ibid.*, 1935–36, pp. 33–34, Pl. XXIII.

1630 A.D. Shah Jahan's passage.

Two New Inscriptions from the Bīdar District, Hyderabad State. *Ibid.*, pp. 35–36, Pl. XXIV.

1466 (of 'Alā al-Dīn Ahmed Shah Baihmanī) and 1673 (small mosque of Aurangzeb).

G. Yazdani and B. Ch. Chhabra, The Bilingual Inscription of Quṭbu'ud-dīn Khaljī from the Rasul Khanji Museum, Junargarh. *Ibid.*, 1935–36, pp. 48–49, Pl. XXXVb.

Minār erected under Ḳuṭb al-Dīn ibn Muhammad Shah 1457.

Indo-Muslim Painting and Calligraphy

Nayer L. Ahmad. Mughal Miniature No. 13 in the Bodleian Manuscript Ouseley Add. 173.

Proc. Fourth Ind. Hist. Congress, Lahore, 1940. Lahore, 1941. P. 251.
Only a notice. The author controverts the interpretation of this Mughal miniature published by P. Brown and Laurence Binyon by referring to contemporary Persian evidence.

Kazi Ahmad Mian Akhtar. More About the Art of Warāqat. Proc. Ninth All-Ind. Or. Conf. Trivandrum, Dec., 1937. Trivandrum, 1940. P. 294 f.
A supplementary study on the art of book-binding and bookselling during the Abbasid period.
Contents: Books on Warāḳat; the advent of paper; the scribes; book trade; reward for writing books and freedom of copying, conservation of books.

Srimati Suda Bose. A Mughal Prince and a Hindu Hermit. Concord, Calcutta, 11–8–1945.
Djahāngīr and Jādrūp.

Moti Chand. Some Unpublished Paintings from Bījāpur, in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India. Journ. Bombay Hist. Soc., VI (1941), 34–47.
Portraits of Muhammad, Ali II, and Iskandar 'Ādilshāh, Afḍal Khan, Sivaji (*ca.* 1670) and the representation of the battle of Panhāla, 1660 A.D., between Rustam Khan and the Marathas.

Moti Chandra. Three Deccanī Paintings on Canvas from the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari's Collection in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India. Journ. Univ. Bombay, VII (1938–39), 108.

O. C. Gangoly. Nidhamal. Bhārata-Kaumudī, I (1945), 243 f., illus.
A Delhi painter of the middle eighteenth century, "the last genuine Moghul painter."

H. Goetz. A Unique Deccanī Miniature. Bull. Baroda State Mus., I, Pt. 1 (1943–44), 37f., 1 pl.
An illustration of "Mālavī Rāginī," a Hindu musical mode, in a style nearly related to that of the Nudjūm-al-'Ulūm MS of the Chester Beatty Collection. The picture as a whole in pure Persian style, but with certain deviations: Geometrical composition similar to that of the Basohlī miniatures, Deccani architectural details, and the figure of a lady like the ladies on the Throne Terrace reliefs at Vijayanager. It shows the fusion of Hindu and Muslim art after the battle of Talikota and throws light on Muslim painting in Bahmanī times.
Bijapur, *ca.* 1570 A.D.

F. Loewenstein. Saint Magdalene—Or Bībī Rābi'a Basrī in Moghul Painting? Islamic Culture, XIII (1939), 466–69, 3 pls.

Hirananda Sastri. Some 'Waslīs'. Journ. Ind. Soc. Oriental Art, VIII (Calcutta, 1940), 56 f., illus.

Some Rare Portraits and Waslīs. New Ind. Antiquary, III (1941), 257 f., illus.
Some Persian and Mughal miniatures and calligraphies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

S. N. Sen. A Note on the Alwar Manuscript of Wāqi'āt-i Bābarī. Islamic Culture, XIX (1945), 270.
Illustrated, but date of scribe too early, view of Ḳuṭb Mināṛ (found only in late MSS).

S. A. Shere. A Waslī of Prince Khurram. Journ. Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc., XXIX, Pt. 4 (1943), 171 f., illus.
A calligraphy from the hand of the later Mughal emperor Shah Jahān, dated 1025 H. (1616–17 A.D.), probably inspired by the third bride of the prince. On the other side a Mughal miniature representing two Hindu ascetics.

Indo-Muslim Industrial Art

P. M. Joshi. Textile Industry and Trade of the Kingdom of Golkonda. Trans. Ind. Hist. Congress, Fifth Sess., Hyderabad, 1941. Hyderabad, 1943. P. 609 f.
On calicoes and muslims, according to early European travellers, including a list of dyed and printed cotton goods.

Some Notes on the Textile Industry and Trade of the Kingdom of Bijapur. Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress, Seventh Sess., Madras, 1944. Allahabad, 1946. P. 262 f.

On calicoes and muslims, according to early European travellers.

JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR. The Silk Trade of Patna in Early Seventeenth Century. Ind. Hist. Quart., 15 (1939), 208 f.

Rajput and Old Gujarati Art

Annual Administration Report of the Archaeological Department Gwalior State for V.S. 1995, Year 1938–39. Gwalior, 1940.
Pp. 5–8: Repairs at the Gujarī Mahal, erected by Mān Singh Tomār, at the foot of Gwalior Fort, especially of the underground summer rooms.

1996, Year 1939–40. Gwalior, 1942.
P. 22: Acquisition for Gwalior Museum of one Mughal miniature (Prince Dārā Shikōh, son of Shah Jahan), two Rājasthānī (supposed Mān Singh Tomār of Gwalior), and eleven "Kāṅgṛā" miniatures (see Pls. IX, b, c, and Xa).

1997, Year 1940–41. Gwalior, 1943.
P. 26 and Pl. IXa: Portrait of a Bundēla raja on horseback, end of eighteenth century.

O. C. GANGOLY and H. GOETZ. A Group of Vallabhāchārya, or Nāth-Dwāra Paintings and Their Relatives. Bull. Baroda State Mus., I, Pt. 2 (1944 [1945]), 31–46, illus.
Two sets of large wall hangings from the Krishna Temple of Nāthdwāra, part Jodhpur, part Udaipur school, early nineteenth century. Especially fine examples of late Rajput painting.

KALYAN KUMAR GANGULI. Chambā Rumal. Journ. Ind. Soc. Or. Art, XI (1943), 69 f., illus.
Some very interesting and rare Basohlī and Kāṅgrā embroideries dependent on the corresponding Rajput schools of painting. The author, however, has not realized their character and importance.

BHABANI CHURN LAW. The Genesis of Pahāṛī Paintings. Bhārata-Kaumudī, I (1945), 369 f.
A discussion of the problem, but without firsthand acquaintance with local circumstances.

M. R. MAJMUDAR. A Note on Brass Lota from Gujarāt. Journ. Univ. Bombay, IX, n.s. (1940–41), 92–96.

A Newly Discovered Illuminated Gītāgovinda MS. from Gujarāt. *Ibid.*, X (1941), 119 f., illus.
Gujarati (southern Rājāsthāni) illustrations to Jayadeva's famous mystic love poem, early sixteenth century.

H. N. RANDLE. A Note on the India Office Rāg-Mālā Collection. New Ind. Antiquary, IV, No. 5 (1941), 162 f.
Systematic survey of Mughal and Rajput miniatures depicting musical moods, partly already published by O. C. Gangoly, Stchoukine, and Heath.

HIRANANDA SASTRI. Indian Pictorial Art as Developed in Book-Illustrations. Gaekwad's Archaeol. Ser., No. I. Baroda, 1936.
Reviewed by B.S.B. in Indian Culture, X (1944), 127.

Ancient Vijñaptipaṭras. Śrī Pratāpasiṁha Mahārāja Rājyābhisheka Granthamālā Mem., No. I, Baroda, 1942, 80 pp., 28 pls., 3 in color. Price, Rs. 9/11.
Vijñaptipaṭras, letters of solicitation, addressed at the beginning of the new year by Svetāmbara communities to famous religious preceptors, represent an old Jain custom in Gujarat and Rajputana. They are important historical documents, composed in high-flown Sanskrit verses and richly illustrated. The Vijñaptipaṭras here published belong to the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries and are illustrated in the old Gujarati, early Mughal, and Rajput (Mārwārī) style. Reviewed by H.D.S. in Bull. Deccan College Res. Inst., IV, No. 1 (1942), 91f. and in Ind. Hist. Quart., XX (1944), 90f.

V. R. TALWALKAR. Stepped Wells in Gujarāt. Baroda Engineers' Assn. Mag., 1944.

Navlakhī Well of Baroda, Baroda Study Circle Journ., 1944 ?.

B. N. TREASURYVALA. A New Variety of Pahāṛī Paintings. Journ. Ind. Soc. Or. Art, XI (1943), 133 f., illus.
Not yet identified small school, intermediate between the Basōhlī, Kāngṛā and Mughal styles; eighteenth century, possibly Kuḷū.

Sikh, Marathi, Bengali Art

AJIT GHOSE. The Art of the Bengal "Paṭ" Drawings. The Hindoosthan, I, No. 3 (1944), 22 f.

H. GOETZ. Marāṭha Art: Its Rise and Traditions. Illus. Weekly Ind., LX, No. 38 (1939), 33–35, illus.
The Marathas are known as the last Hindu power in India, in the period between the decline of the Mughal Empire and the establishment of British rule. The article points out that they also created an art of their own, a "Baroque" synthesis of old Deccanī, Gujarati, Mughal, and Rajput elements.

P. C. MANUK. The Patna School of Painting (Nineteenth century). Journ. Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc., 29, Pt. 3 (1943), 143 f., illus.
A late branch of the Mughal school flourishing in the late eighteenth and during the nineteenth centuries; strong European influence, especially of the Romantic school.

SAILOZ MOOKHERJEA. The Walls of Benares. Mod. Rev., Feb., 1944, p. 118 f.
Wall paintings, mostly in the late popular style.

Islamic Art Outside India

A. J. ARBERRY. Specimens of Arabic and Persian Palaeography, 1939.
Reviewed by M. H., in Islamic Culture, XIV (1940), 259f.

H. GOETZ. Muslim Pottery and Other Vessels of the Late 'Abbāsid Caliphate in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Islamic Culture, XIV, No. 4 (1940), 430 f., 2 pls.
From Susa: Muslim and Chinese fragments and a bowl of the "Samarra" type, bowls of Byzantino-Syrian type with molded vine ornaments, glass flacons, a bronze ewer, etc.

The Dagger of an Early Malay Conqueror: Kris of Muhammad Iskandar 'Abd al-Raḥmān Mu'azzam Shāh (1413–24 A.D.): First Muslim Sultan of the Malacca Empire. Bull. Baroda State Mus., I, Pt. 2 (1944 [1945]), 53 f., illus.

The Kris of the First Muslim Sultan of Malacca in the Collection of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda. Journ. Greater Ind. Soc., XII, No. 1 (1945), 49–52, illus.
An early Malay kris of a type more archaic than that of Sultan Muẓaffar (1446–58) of Malacca in the possession of the Sultan of Johore, and with an inscription: "Sultan 'Abd al-Raḥmān Mu'azzam Shah" (horoscope date) 773 H. (1371 A.D.). The original owner is here identified with Muhammad Iskandar, first Muslim sultan of Malacca and grandfather of Muẓaffar.

M. HAMIDULLAH. Some Arabic Inscriptions of Medinah of the Early Years of Hijrah. Islamic Culture, XIII (1939), 427–39.
Inscriptions at Mt. Sāl.

M. H. Discovery of Another Original of a Letter of the Prophet. *Ibid.*, XVI (1942), 339–42, 1 pl.
Discussion of a fake?

R. PFISTER. Les Toiles imprimées de Fostat et l'Hindoustan. Paris: Ed. d'art et d'histoire, 1938.
Reviewed by A.B.-S. in Journ. Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc., XXV (1939), 123–24.

M. L. ROY CHOUDHURI SASTRI. Library in Islam. Bengal Past and Present, 61 (1941), 65–70.

R. B. SERJEANT. A Rare Ottoman MS. with Two Contemporary Portraits of Murād III. Islamic Culture, XVIII, Pt. 1 (1944), 15–18, 5 pls.
In National Library of Scotland: Djāmi 'al-Kamālāt, composed 1584 A.D. at Constantinople, a treatise on the beauties of Aleppo, MS dated 1590.

Additions

P. C. GUPTA. Chughtai. Añjali: S. P. Shah in Memoriam. Ed. by Asit Kumar Haldar and others. Allahabad–Lucknow, 1940. Pp. 127–29.
Famous living Lahore painter.

C. G. Karve. Three Historical Pictures. Bhārat Itihās Samshōdhak Mandal ("Ind. Hist. Res. Assn.") Quart., Poona, April, 1939, p. 153.

Three pictures from a private collection. One of them shows Peshwā Savāi Mādhavrāo putting a pet bird into a cage. Another shows Peshwā in a standing posture near another pet animal. The third is of a lady fully attired and carried on the shoulders of a servant, who is shown thrusting his sword at an opponent with drawn sword. The writer thinks that the lady carried on the shoulders of her servant is Pārvatībāi Peshwe returning from Panipat (in 1761).

Rāy Krishnadāsa. Bhārat-kī Chitra-Kalā ("Pictorial Art of India"). Benares: Nāgarī Prachārinī Sabhā V.S., 1996 (1939). 14 + 168 pp., 24 pls.

Popular introduction, dealing also with Mughal and Rajput painting.

M[ukandi] Lal. Molā Rām—The Painter and Poet of Garhwāl. Añjali: S. P. Shah in Memoriam. Ed. by Asit Kumar Haldar and others. Allahabad–Lucknow, 1940. Pp. 107–26.

The only Rajput painter whose life is well-known to us. *Ca.* 1750–1833, dated miniatures 1769–1821, also poet and court bard. Adopted in course of life several styles, 1771 purest Mughal type. Mughal pupil "Fardaḳ" Baḳar Ali.

V. N. Mehta. Stone Sugar Mills. Journ. U. P. Hist. Soc., XII (1939), p. 12 f.

Reliefs on stone sugar mills in the folk style, a sort of degenerated Rajput style.

D. V. Potdar. A Rare Illustrated Manuscript of the Shivājī Period. Bhārat Itihās Samshōdhak Mandal ("Ind. Hist. Res. Assn.") Quart., Poona, July, 1941, pp. 4–6.

Illustrated MS of the Bhāgavata Purāna privately owned in Ratnagiri district. Probably from northern India, dated Vikrama Era 1589 (1532 A.D.) but the author prefers to correct the date into Saka Era 1589 (1667 A.D.). Fifty square illustrations in the middle of each page in a mixture of Muslim and Rajput art with preponderatingly Deccanī style and costume features.

H. D. Sankalia. Mughal Influence on Jain Art and Iconography. Añjali: S. P. Shah in Memoriam. Ed. by Asit Kumar Haldar and others. Allahabad–Lucknow, 1940. P. 35–38, 3 illus.

B. Sen. The Precursors of the Mughal School of Painting. Añjali: S. P. Shah in Memoriam. Ed. by Asit Kumar Haldar and others. Allahabad–Lucknow, 1940. Pp. 101–5.

Chinese and Central-Asian Manichaean influence on Mongol and Timurid painting.

PUBLICATIONS ON TURKISH AND ISLAMIC ARTS IN TURKEY, 1939–1945

By Tahsin Öz

Turkish art is one of the subjects to which the republican regime in Turkey attaches great importance. The Ministry of Public Instruction had, even before World War II, formed certain groups to decide upon a series of publications containing colored pictures of Turkish miniatures, tapestry, tiles, and woven fabrics. Unfortunately, when war broke out, the museums, libraries, and some archives departments had to be closed, and their contents sent to the interior for safety. As a consequence it was impossible to have a fundamental publication arranged on a large scale. Even now that things are back to normal we still need much time to have these materials arranged in order to be ready for further studies. Though Turkey did not enter the war it is still quite difficult to find printing materials. This has interfered with printing and publishing. These reasons account for the meager bibliography of the years 1939–45; also the difficulties encountered during the war must be taken into consideration.

The first book of the bibliography, *L'Art turc,* is the work of Celâl Esat Arseven. The book contains 503 pictures and plans and is written in French. The most important characteristic of the book is the fact that it defends the thesis that not all studies on Turkish art should

be considered from the point of view of Islamic art. Before adopting the Moslem religion the Turks had a large number of arts, architecture being at the head of all, and, in spite of having changed their religion, their arts continued and were based on old customs and traditions. When seen from this point of view, the art of the last period, its relation to the past and its history, can be shown. On the other hand, when Turkish art is studied from the Islamic angle, the study of the different kinds of art, of nations belonging to the same race but having different religions, and spreading from China to Spain, under the one religious aspect is not only impossible but gives rise to many errors. The book contains a map illustrating the migration of the Turks from Central Asia. The bases of Turkish art and of the decorative arts of Central Asia are compared. After giving a short survey of Islamic architecture and that of central Asia, the plans and pictures of the prominent architectural works of the Ottoman empire are dealt with and the schools to which they belonged, their styles, and the characteristics of their interior decoration are described in general.

The next chapter, which bears the title "Les Arts décoratifs et industriels," and contains an introduction to the essentials of decorations and their traditions and their applications to woodwork, tapestry, tiles, woven fabrics, glass, and metal work, is described by pictures dating from different periods. The author has brought forth the most important points about Turkish art and has added three more parts having the following titles: "Resumé historique," "Table chronologique des evénements historiques et des monuments ayant rapport avec l'art turc," "Listes des edifices construit par Sinan."

Celâl Eśat Arseven's *L'Art turc* has not approached some of the branches of art appearing in his outline, and some of the information given about certain others is not complete. The duty of those working on Turkish art is to complete and correct his study.

Another worthwhile book is *Istanbul Çesmeleri* ("The Fountains of Istanbul") the work of Ibrahim Hilmi Tanışık. This two-volume book brings out two points: the place and importance of water in the Turk's love of benevolence. The Turks have established many mortmains and pious institutions, but in this respect the greatest importance is given to water. In order to ensure a water supply they built dams and made waterways to bring the water to cities kilometers away. In the cities this water was distributed to the people in sebīls, "public fountains where drinking water is distributed to the people in cups, gratis." Thus, when traveling in Turkey one may pass on the roads water flowing in pipes, or from fountains in the most unexpected places. It is a common occurrence that benevolent people who could not afford as much have dug wells. This benevolence has caused the erection of dams, places to distribute water, sebīls and fountains. A sebīl is larger in size and more artistically made than a fountain, and its purpose is to satisfy the thirst of passers-by. The owners of mortmained estates or fountains even ordered ice to make the water cold in summer. It is also a custom that sweet drinks should run from the fountain and sebīls at their inauguration. The author has carefully studied the present fountains separately and has put down the inscriptions and the dates of construction, the name of the person by whose order each fountain was made, besides giving a short account of the styles; he also included illustrations. In spite of the destruction of many fountains there remain today 668 fountains in Istanbul. These constitute valuable material from the point of view of architecture and decorative art and inscriptions.

I add a few words in behalf of the *Güzel Sanatlar Dergisi* ("The Review of Fine Arts"), one of the publications of the Ministry of Public Instruction. This review has a beautiful cover and special attention is given to the printing. The cover of each number of the review is decorated with a reproduction of an example of Turk-

ish art. Every number contains large, colored pictures. This review has made available to the public valuable and instructive articles on architecture, miniatures, tiles, embroidery, woven fabrics, and old Turkish calligraphy. During the war the review was published once a year, but the number of pages and pictures of each issue has increased. The sixth number, which is in the press, is devoted to objects in the Topkapı Saray Museum. It promises to be an especially fine issue.

1939

Celal Esat Arseven. L'Art turc. Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası. 305 pp., illus.

Nurettin Rüştü Bingül. Eski Eserler Ansiklopedisi ("Encyclopedia of Old Works"). Istanbul: Cituris Matbaası. 271 pp., illus.

Melek Celal. Türk Işlemeleri ("Turkish Embroideries"). Istanbul: Kenan Matbaası. 80 pp., illus.

Sedat Çetintaş. Sivas Sifaiyesinde yapılan mimarî Hafriyat ("Architectural Excavation Made in Sivas's Hospital"). Ankara: Belleten, Türk Tarih Kurumu, No. 9, 18 pp., illus.

Saray vs Kervansaraylar arasında Ibrahim Paşa Sarayı ("Ibraham Paşa's Saray Among Other Sarays and Kervansarays"). Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 45 pp., illus.

Selim Nüzhet Gerçek. Türk Matbaacılığı, Müteferrika Matbaası ("Turkish Printing, Müteferrika Printing House"). Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası. 111 pp., illus.

Türk Taş Basmacılığı ("Turkish Lithography"). Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası. 31 pp., illus.

Sabih Gözen. Türk Dokumacılığı ve Deseni ("Turkish Weaving and Its Pattern"). Güzel Sanatlar Dergisi Sayı ("Review of Fine Arts"). Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası; Ministry of Public Instruction. No. 1.
Articles about Turkish art in this Review.

Nefsi Zade İbrahim. Rifat (ed.). Gülzarı Sevap. Publication of the Academy of Fine Arts. 11 pp.

Ziya Kocainan. Mimar Sinan ve 20 ci asır Mimarîsi ("Architect Sinan and the Architecture of the Twentieth Century"). Istanbul: Kenan Matbaası. 39 pp., illus.

H. Baki Kunter and A. Saim Ülgen. Fatih Camii ve Bizans Sarnıcı ("Mosque of Fatih and the Byzantium Cistern"). Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası. 16 pp., illus.

Tahsin Öz. Hünername ve Minyatürleri ("Hünername and Its Miniatures"). Güzel Sanatlar Dergisi Sayi. No. 1.

Zarif Orgun. Boğaziçinde Eski bir Türk Yalısı ("An Old Turkish Yalı on the Bosporus"). From the publications of Arkitekt. 8 pp., illus.

Hüseyin Namik Orhon. Eski Türk Yazıtları Cilt II ("Old Turkish Calligraphy"). Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası. Vol. II. 218 pp., illus.

Ali Saim Ülgen. Fatih Devrinde Istanbul ("Istanbul in the Time of Fatih"). Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası. 44 pp., illus.

A. Süheyl Ünver. Türk Ressamı ve Içtimaî Hayat ("Turkish Painter and Social Life"). Güzel Sanatlar Dergisi Sayı. No. 1.

Türk Tezyinatında Halkâriye Dair ("Gilding in Turkish Decoration"). Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası. 11 pp., illus.

1940

Istanbul Abideleri ("Monuments of Istanbul"). Istanbul: Yedigün Matbaası. 128 pp., illus.

Yeşil ve Muradiye Türbeleri ("Yeşil and Muradiye Mausoleums"). Bursa: Yeni Matbaası. Publications of Bursa Halk-Evi. 8 pp.

S. Fikri Ertan. Antalya Vilâyeti Tarihi ("History of Antalya"). Istanbul. 42 pp., illus.

YUSUF AYKUT. Beyşehir Kitabeleri ve Eşrefoğlu Camii ve Türbesi ("Inscriptions from Beyşehir and the Mosque and Mausoleum of Eşrefoğlu"). Türk Tarih, Arkeolojiya, Etnoğrafya Dergisi ("Turkish Historical, Archeological, and Ethnographical Review"), No. 4. Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası.

ISMAIL BAYKAL. Hat Sanatı ("Art of Inscription"). Güzel Sanatlar Dergisi ("Review of Fine Arts"). No. 2. Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası.

ABDÜLKADIR ERDOĞAN. Üsküdar Su yolları Haritası ("Map of Waterways in Üsküdar"). Türk Tarih, Arkeolojiya, Etnoğrafya Dergisi Sayı, No. 4.

TAHSIN ÖZ. Çinilerimiz ("Our Tiles"). Güzel Sanatlar Dergisi Sayı, No. 2.

En Nadir, Türk Çinileri ("Rarest Turkish Tiles"). Türk Tarih, Arkeolojiya, Etnoğrafya Dergisi Sayı, No. 4.

ZARIF ORGUN. Tophane Çeşmesi ("Fountain of Tophane"). Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası. 4 pp., illus.
From the publications of Arkitekt.

OSMAN NURI PERMECI. Edirne Tarihi ("History of Edirne"). Istanbul: Resimliay Matbaası. 456 pp., illus.
Publication of the Society of the Lovers of Old Works in or near Edirne.

A. SÜHEYL ÜNVER. Edirne Sarayında Kum Kasrı ("Kum Kasri in the Palace of Edirne"). Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası. 5 pp., illus.

A. SÜHEYL ÜNVER. "Selçuk Tababeti 10–14 cü asırlar, Binalar ve Minyatürler ("Medicine of the Seljuks, 10–14th Centuries, Buildings and Miniatures"). Ankara. 217 pp., illus.

1941

Publications of the Military Museum. Türk Silâhlarına dair ("About Turkish Arms"). Istanbul: Tan Matbaası. Pamphlet. Nos. 2 and 3. 27 pp., illus.

OSMAN BAYATLI. Bergamada Küplü hamam ("Küplü hamam in Bergama"). Istanbul: Vakit Matbaası. 41 pp., illus.

HÜSEYIN KOCABAŞ. Porsölencilik Tarihi ("History of Porcelain Making"). Bursa: Yeni Matbaası. 124 pp., illus.

KÂMIL SU. Mimar Sinanin eserlerinden Muradiye Camii ("Mosque of Muradiye, One of the Monuments of Architect Sinan"). Istanbul: Resimliay Matbaası. 32 pp., illus.

HAMIT ZÜBEYIR KOŞAY. Eski Türk Medeniyeti ile Küçük Asya Medeniyeti ("Old Turkish Civilization and the Civilization of Asia Minor"). La Turquie kemaliste, No. 45.

TAHSIN ÖZ. Türk Işlemeleri ("Turkish Embroideries"). La Turquie kemaliste, No. 44.

Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, ("Library of Topkapı Saray Museum"). *Ibid.*, No. 45.

AZIZ OGAN. Birkaç, Türk Saheseri ("Several Turkish Masterpieces"). La Turquie kemaliste, No. 45.

HÜSEYIN NAMIK ORHUN. Eski Türk Yazıtları ("Old Turkish Epigraphy"). Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası. Vol. IV. 210 pp., illus.

RUDOLF M. RIEFSTAHL. Cenubi garbî Anadoluda Türk Mimarîsi ("Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia"). Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası. 228 pp., illus.

A. SÜHEYL ÜNVER. Minyatür, Dirilen Ince Sanatımız ("Miniature, Our Reviving Fine Art"). Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası. 8 pp., illus.

Hospital of Edirne "891", 1486.
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IBRAHIM HILMI TANIŞIK. "Istanbul Çeşmerli" Sayı I ("Fountains of Istanbul"). Vol. I. Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası. 414 pp., illus.

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MUSA ANIŞ. Bursa Kılavuzu ("Guide to Bursa"). Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası. 223 pp.

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NURETTIN ÜNEN. Seyhan Anıtları ("Monuments of Seyhan"). Adana: Seyhan Matbaasi. 131 pp.

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M. FERIT UĞUR and M. MESUT KOMAN. Selçuk büyüklerinden Celâlettin Karatay ile kardeşlerinin hayat ve eserleri ("The Life and Works of Celâlettin Karatay and His Brothers, Seldjuk Leaders"). Konya: Yeni Matbaası. 87 pp., illus.

ŞAHABETTIN UZLUK. Mevlânanin Ressamları ("Mevlâna's Painters"). Konya: Yeni Kitab Matbaası. Publications of Fine Art's Branch of Konya Halk-Evi. 91 pp., illus.

NURETTIN YATMAN. Türk Kumaşları ("Turkish Woven Fabrics"). Ankara: Maarif Matbaası. Publication of Ankara Halk-Evi. 69 pp., illus.

ABIT YUMAR. Mezar Taşlari ("Tomb Stones"). Istanbul: Beyoğlu Yayınevi. 75 pp.

BOOK REVIEWS

Early Muslim Architecture: Umayyads, Early 'Abbāsids and Ṭūlūnids. Part Two: Early 'Abbāsids, Umayyads of Cordova, Aghlabids, Ṭūlūnids, and Samānids: A.D. 751-905, by Keppel Archibald Cameron Creswell. With contributions by Félix Hernández, Georges Marçais, 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Ḥilmī, and Ḥasan (Abd al-Wahhāb). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940. Pp. xxvi + 415, 123 pls.; 261 figs.

In two magnificent volumes, only the second of which is here under review, Professor K. A. C. Creswell has achieved the coming of age of studies in Islamic architectural history. Without implying that all that has been written befor this work belongs to a djāhilīya, this reader is convinced that *Early Muslim Architecture* will be known to future students as the *Zeitenwende* from which the past and future studies in this field will be dated. This prophecy rests not so much on the immense factual content of these volumes as on the new standard in method and thoroughness—as well as in respect for the material—which Creswell has here established. The study of Islamic architectural history stood in need of a severe discipline. Whereas a digging archeologist and his staff, for several decades, at least, have been obliged to meet minimum requirements of competence and intellectual honesty before taking over a site, any person who slept one night under a roof—acquiring, by such incubation, familiarity with architectural forms and construction methods as well as with the pertinent problems of architectural history—might style himself an architectural historian and set out on an "expedition." Against such travesty on scholarship Creswell's work stands in cold rebuke.

The plan of this work consists of a series of monographs on various monuments: these are supplemented by special studies on structural and decorative elements, and both monographs and studies are fitted into a chronological scheme which gives the work unity and over-all clarity. With this corpus has been supplied a superb apparatus; be it the index, the chronological lists, the bibliographies, the illustrations, or the footnotes, the convenience of the reader has been so thoughtfully considered that the doors to the treasure open at a touch and the use of these volumes, despite their considerable size, becomes sheer pleasure.

In the first volume of this work Creswell served the "Persian origins" partisans a dish of rather cold crow in his assertion of the Syrian origin of the pointed arch, a claim supported by examples of 564 A.D. (Ḳasr Ibn Wardān), 705–15 A.D. (Great Mosque of Damascus), 712–15 A.D. (Ḳusayr 'Amra), etc. Not until the eighth century, he now adds, do pointed arches occur in Persia, and these are archaic, slightly pointed, almost elliptical examples—found alongside arches with Sasanian-elliptical profiles—in the Tārī Khāna [1] at Damghan, showing that "... the evolution already begun in Syria in the second half of the sixth century had scarcely begun in Persia at the end of the eighth" (p. 43). That withering statement concerning the simple, two-centered arch should spoil the appetites of the Persian Gothicists for all time, but to make doubly sure, Creswell adds, as *ad nauseam* sauce, the non-Persian origin of the four-centered arch, the arch whose classic profile we have heard extolled in Ruskinian rhapsody as the supreme expression of Persia's artistic genius. Although it is known in Mesopotamia as the dawr-i-'adja-

[1] Thus, in preference to Tarīk Khāna, cf. A. Godard, "The Architecture of the Islamic Period: Compte-rendu," *Ars Islamica*, VIII (1941), 7.

māna ("Persian arch"),[2] its earliest extant example is not in Persia but is on the border of Syria, in the Baghdad Gate of Rakka, dated 772 A.D. by the author (p. 45). The earliest known monument in the East to show a well-developed pointed arch, the Mausoleum of Ismā'īl the Samanid at Bukhara (before 907 A.D.), is, therefore, almost two centuries after the four-centered Syrian example of Rakka, and its profile still is two-centered (pp. 367, 371). The amazing backwardness of the Persians in adopting the four-centered arch Creswell underscores by the succinct statement: "From the ninth century it became typical of 'Irāq and from the tenth century of Persia" (p. 43).

Creswell states that the tiers-point arch makes its first known appearance in the Nilometer, dated by him 861 A.D., "four centuries before it was known in the West." Its Eastern architect, sent to Fusṭāṭ by the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, was the mathematician Abu 'l-'Abbās Ahmed ibn Muhammad ibn Kathīr al-Farghānī, the astronomer Alfraganus of our Middle Ages (pp. 292, 302–3). The first "systematic and exclusive employment of the freestanding quint-point arch," Creswell states, is in the cistern at Ramla (Palestine), dated 789 A.D.: "Hitherto we have met this outline twice—at Mshattā and Qaṣr aṭ-Ṭūba—where it is employed to trace the vaults only" (p. 164).

It is hoped that before long a specialist in western medieval architecture will summarize the present status of studies dealing with the appearance in Europe of the pointed arch, the pointed vault, and the rib vault. Kenneth Conant tells me[3] that the door of Santa Maria de Naranco, near Oviedo, Spain (by 848 A.D.), has a solitary pointed arch and that the Monte Cassino church of 1066 had two porticoes, each with five-pointed arches (*fornices spiculos*), and that it is possible that the Burgundians had developed a pinched or all-but-pointed vaulting in the eleventh century: thus, at Cluny, in the still extant transept (1100), such a vault is framed by an unmistakable pointed arch, surely the earliest of its kind, dated, in Burgundy.[4] Creswell has shown that the pointed arch reached Kairouan, Tunisia, by 862 A.D. Conant has suggested that the form may have reached Burgundy in consequence of the visit of the Cluniac Abbot Hugh to Monte Cassino in 1083. But the question still to be answered is, how did the pointed arch get from North Africa or the Near East to Europe? The oft-repeated story that the pointed arch was brought back by the Crusaders we can now challenge: it was at Monte Cassino thirty years before the First Crusade.

Lord Curzon's withering rebuke to those who write on a subject in ignorance of what has been written does not apply to the author of *Early Muslim Architecture*. So formidable is Creswell's bibliographical apparatus that one must conclude that those of his waking hours away from his beloved monuments are spent in company of his beloved books. The library resources of Cairo and an occasional reading season in England seem to have produced this amazing bibliographical coverage, something which might be noted by students who fear to situate themselves beyond a short walk from a major university library. Nothing could be more convenient than the chronological arrangement of the bibliographies on individual monuments. The form of entry is model, giving all essentials while omitting certain details dear to the professional bibliographer. Some idea of the relative completeness of these bibliographies, including

[2] F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet* (Berlin, 1911–20), II, 358. (Hereafter referred to as *Arch. Reise.*)

[3] In a letter dated March 31, 1944.

[4] H. M. Willard and K. Conant, "A Project for the Graphic Reconstruction of the Romanesque Abbey at Mōnte Cassino," *Speculum*, X (1935), Pl. I; cf. K. Conant, *Early Mediaeval Church Architecture* (Baltimore, 1942), *passim.*

material in at least eight languages—Russian being the only notable omission—can be conveyed by noting that the Great Mosque of Cordoba has 196 entries, Ukhaiḍir has 45; the Mosque of 'Amr at Fusṭāṭ, 190; the Great Mosque at Kairouan, 105; the Nilometer, 125; and the Mosque at Ahmed ibn Ṭūlūn, 204!

Early in his studies Creswell must have realized that the tangle of fact and myth surrounding early Islamic architectural history could not be unsnarled without the aid of photographs; not the general views taken by commercial photographers or tourists, but photographs painstakingly made by scholars to reveal and record facts of interest to scholars, that is to say, photographic documents; and so, with the thoroughness which appears to mark all he undertakes, he made himself a finished architectural photographer and proceeded to create a corpus of such documents. The value for the study of cultural history of the documentary photograph—by that I mean a successful photograph, completely and reliably labeled—is now becoming recognized by scholars and by librarians, not only as a prime tool for use in the study and in the classroom but also as a precious record of remaining monuments and of visual experiences. Considering the rate—now insanely accelerated—at which civilization, through its militaristic, economic, acculturative, and other manifestations, is obliterating monuments, the historian of architecture and of art and the ethnologist as well have a manifest and immediate duty to their studies to insist that adequate photographic documents be made. At the same time, the librarian, as custodian of significant records of the past and of the present-becoming-the-past, is obligated to see that these documents are preserved.

Drawing on the large corpus of photographs which he has assembled at Cairo, Creswell selected appropriate examples for use among the 795 illustrations in this volume. Of these superb illustrations, not one of which could have been omitted without loss, 534 are in the plate section, while the remainder—261 figures—include the half-tones in text as well as the plans, elevations, sections, perspectives, details, ornaments, and diagrams, which fill out the illustrative apparatus. An evidence of the care and taste used in the make-up of this work is the intelligent and convenient arrangement of the illustrations; all follow a general chronological order: plans, drawings, and comparative illustrations are placed with the related text while photographs of the various monuments are assembled at the end where the chronological scheme also prevails, thus the Samarra plates are grouped according to building periods. The chronological plate arrangement is an aid in grasping building sequence which students will appreciate. In the legends, a detail often slighted by writers and publishers, the reader finds the needful facts, including dates. Among the outstanding photographic documents furnished in this volume, the following warrant special notice:

Rakka: the Baghdad Gate, Plates 2e (elevation) and 3a (aerial view).

Ukhaiḍir: Plates 5–22, containing 65 new photographs. Especially useful are two aerial views (Plate 5a and -b); a hazārbāf brick nichehead (Plate 14e), cross vaults (Plates 16d, 20e), and the great hall (Plates 10d, 11a).

Jerusalem: Aḳsā Mosque: A series of twenty-seven carved wood panels—the soffits of false consoles of roof beams—furnish a new corpus of early Islamic ornament (Plates 25–27). Despite the difficulties of inaccessibility (they are sixteen meters from the pavement) and of poor lighting, the author has succeeded in photographing them with such skill that the detail and the feeling of the ornament are rendered with far greater fidelity than any other medium, such as drawing, might give.

Samarra: Great Mosque of Mutawakkil. The aerial views (Plate 63a and -b).

Samarra: Dja'farīya. Aerial view, showing the Mosque of Abū Dulaf (Plate 70a).

Roḍā Island: Nilometer. Arches and details (Plates 80–83).

Kairouan: Great Mosque. Exterior and in-

terior views of the dome in front of the mihrab (Plates 84a, -b, and -c; 85a, -b, -c, and -d). Luster tiles of the mihrab (Plates 86, 87). Marble paneling of mihrab (Plates 87–88). The famous wood mimbar (Plates 89-90). It is to be regretted that space permitted showing so few of Professor Creswell's detail photographs of this important object, but his well-known willingness to share photographs ensures that in time they will all be turned to account.[5] Meanwhile, in these two plates, we have the best photographs that have been made of this monument, a distinction which applies to so many another photograph in this collection that the phrase loses significance.

Cairo: Mosque of Ahmed ibn Ṭūlūn. Details of stucco decoration (Plates 101 ff.), especially the pier head and archivolts (Plate 102b); arch soffits (Plates 103–7); twenty-eight window arch soffits (Plates 108–11); and window archivolts and tracery (Plates 111–12). To these must be added four door soffits of wood (Plates 113–14).

Bukhara; Tomb of Ismā'īl the Samanid. Seven photographs, made under great difficulties by the lamented Ernest Cohn-Wiener and his courageous wife (Plates 118–119).

The plate section ends with a splendid sequence of fifteen mihrabs (Plates 120–23), whose variety demonstrates, *inter alia,* the extent to which reliable photographic documents such as these which Creswell has so generously supplied, will be needed by a student who might wish to trace the development of this playfully architectural feature through, say, the first half-millenium of Islam.

Creswell does not reveal his system of surveying and measuring,[6] but the plan resulting from only seven hours in the Great Mosque at Susa (Fig. 199), suggests that it can be rapid when necessity demands. His archeological conscience required that he mention in the legend under this plan that it may not be accurate in all its detail; this is in contrast to the publication of sketch plans without notation thereof, which still goes on, as though the measurement of Islamic monuments does not deserve the same niceties of honesty long accorded the temples of classic Greece and the cathedrals of Christian Europe. There was a period, in the early days of the studies, when students had to be grateful for any kind of a report on an Islamic monument, but that era is past, definitely, and no amount of pretentious format can compensate for slipshod fieldwork. Here, again, the discipline has been advanced by Creswell's high standards.

In what amounts to a monograph on the Great Mosque at Rakka, the author has not repeated all the information in the previous report by Herzfeld; rather, he adds, changes, and supplements. In place of Herzfeld's rectangular piers,[7] Creswell (p. 46, Fig. 33) restores the piers as cylindrical. Unlike Herzfeld, he shows openings in the outer wall in line with Nūr al-Dīn's ṣaḥn arcade. Structurally, the existing openings are in such unfortunate positions that query arises whether they may not represent later breaches in the walls. Creswell's plan omits the compass points. His detail of the corner pier does not show an abacus for the half-engaged column. To indicate further how the two publications supplement each other one might mention that the entire ṣaḥn elevation of Nūr al-Dīn's arcaded façade with its variety of arch reveals, which Herzfeld records in a drawing,[8] Creswell shows but in part (Plates 4a, d). The scale of these great arches is brought out by the well-placed figures on Herzfeld's photographs. As for the quality of the photographic plates in

[5] For other examples, see M. Dimand, "Studies in Islamic Ornament—I," *Ars Islamica,* IV (1937), Figs. 38, 39.

[6] But see his *Early Muslim Architecture* (Oxford, 1932), I, 412–14 for an exposé of the ingenious and painstaking method employed in overcoming the difficulties encountered in surveying the Dome of the Rock.

[7] *Arch. Reise,* III, Taf. LXVI.

[8] *Ibid.*

the two works, the superiority of those in *Early Muslim Architecture* is obvious. In the Rakka city plan, Creswell's drawing (Fig. 27), made from an air photograph, corrects Herzfeld's sketch plan [9] in certain details, yet here again the plans supplement each other. The fine photograph in critical lighting of the east elevation of the Baghdad Gate at Rakka (Plate 2e) is a more useful archeological document than is Herzfeld's view.[10] The aerial photographs which Creswell has reproduced (Plate 3a) are a magnificant record, a record made even clearer when studied with the plan drawings (p. 42, Fig. 28).[11]

It is profitable to compare the plans of Ukhaiḍir made by Reuther,[12] Bell,[13] and Creswell. Only Bell gives a detailed plan of the entire castle, and her plan of the palace enclosed is but a part of this, enlarged. The difference between Reuther's and Bell's palace plans is slight, the former being somewhat more architecturally knowing. Of the three, Creswell's plan is the largest in scale and the most lucid. His knowledge of the problems clarifies details, such as the entrances, which are now revealed as interesting examples of military architecture (p. 57, Fig. 38). Creswell acknowledges liberally his considerable debt to Reuther and to Bell. In the illustrating photographs (Plates 5–22), the author makes a new contribution, his plates being quite superior to Bell's and more than a little better than Reuther's. Whatever the difficulties of lighting and inaccessibility may have been—and only those who have photographed in such ruins can fully appreciate the obstacles—they have been overcome by persistent patience and skill.

The early Islamic dating for Ukhaiḍir, first proposed by Bell, cannot be brought closer than 720–800 A.D. on architectural grounds, but Creswell (pp. 94–98), by ingenious use of historical evidence, suggests that the lonely ḳaṣr may have been the place of exile of ʿĪsā ibn Mūsā, the Abbasid whom Mansur and al-Mahdī bribed and coerced into renouncing the succession, an identification which would place the structure after 159 H. (775–76 A.D.) and bring the dating within amazingly narrow limits.

In discussing the fortifications of Ukhaiḍir Creswell describes the discharge slits in the vault above the vestibule (p. 86 and Plate 10A) and remarks that had sufficient Sasanian monuments survived, we should probably find the prototype of this feature in Sasanian architecture. His surmise is correct. In the preserved gateway of Takht-i Sulaimān (Azerbaijan, Persia) I observed an opening in the vault which, while not a slit, apparently served the same purpose. I must note here that the ruins at Takht-i Sulaimān are Sasanian and Mongol; I saw no evidence of Parthian work. A recent attempt [14] to restore Rawlinson's so-called Parthian building with a second floor of wood denies the evidence of vaults which stares from the walls: holes through the walls claimed for joist bearings are actually the locations of scaffold beams which were built in and sawed off after use, a method of building still employed in Persia.[15] I wonder whether a similar system of wall-supported scaffolds may not have been used in laying up the walls of Ukhaiḍir? Creswell mentions (p. 54) holes in the walls which he calls the loci of former transverse wooden ties that occur "usually at every

[9] *Ibid.*, III, Taf. LXIII.

[10] *Ibid.*, III, Taf. LXV.

[11] *Ibid.*, II, 357, Abb. 330.

[12] O. Reuther, *Ocheïdir, Deutsche Orient-Gesellsch., wissensch. Veröffentlichung* (Leipzig, 1912), Nr. 20, Taf. III–VI.

[13] G. Bell, *Palace and Mosque at Ukhaiḍir* (Oxford, 1914), Pls. I–III.

[14] D. Wilber, "The Parthian Structures of Takht-i-Sulayman," *Antiquity*, 48 (1938), 390 ff. (structure A).

[15] The vaulting system was exposed in a paper read before the American Oriental Society, cf. "Proc. Amer. Oriental Soc. Meeting Chicago, Ill., 1941. Fourth Session," *Journ. Amer. Oriental Soc.*, 61 (1941), 208; also, C. Hopkins, "The Parthian Temple," *Berytus*, VII (1942), 8.

third leveling course," that is, every 2.1 to 2.4 meters, and adds—significantly, I think—"Reuther notes the curious fact that longitudinal ties do not appear to have been employed." I have not seen Ukhaiḍir, but the admirable photographs which Creswell supplies suggest that these holes occur at the levels where scaffolds would be needed and not where reinforcing is necessary. And there is the fact, carefully reported by Creswell, that the holes do not go through the walls; this also would argue against ties. But not having studied the monument, I offer this merely as a suggestion.

The use of the term "clock-formed" to designate a type of column capital and base (pp. 243, 265, 291, and 304) puzzled me, clocks being of so many shapes, until I looked up Creswell's references to Herzfeld: *Paikuli*, "Reisebericht," and *Erster vorläufiger Bericht . . . über Samarra*, and saw that the descriptive term had been inadvertently adopted from Herzfeld's *Glockenkapitelle*. In his *Die Malereien von Samarra* [16] Herzfeld gave additional information on the bell-formed capital and base.

Students of the history of science are indebted to Creswell for setting aright the false dating which for more than a century has been attributed to that famous instrument, the Nilometer (pp. 290 ff.). Praise is due to the Egyptian Public Works Department for clearing out the pit at his suggestion and making it possible for him to establish the original level of the measuring column and so make valid old records of Nile floods.

Creswell's enterprise in penetrating the French archeological preserve of Tunisia to record for the first time the Great Mosque of Susa (pp. 248–53) deserves high commendation. The spirit of Britain's explorers lives on in such endeavor.

The chronology (pp. 373–91) consists of 333 items covering the first three centuries of Islam, or from the Prophet's dār at Madina to the Mausoleum of Ismā'īl the Samanid at Bukhara. This supporting armature for the history of early Islamic architecture, based on extant monuments and historical sources, will be used frequently by grateful students. Eschewing the esoterism of many Arabists, the author cites translations as well as texts in his appended bibliographical notes which run as high as thirty items per entry. The entries are themselves models of brevity and clarity although their use presupposes familiarity with Islamic historical geography. This compilation is another example of Creswell's method: the use of razor-sharp tools of his own creating.

But the noble monuments here studied exist not only in space and time but in the eyes of beholders. Of the aesthetic values of this architecture Creswell is keenly conscious—no one who has had the privilege of going with him to the Cairene mosques could doubt this. Lack of reference to such values does not stamp the author as insensitive to them; rather, it seems to imply that, in his opinion, architectural history is not a branch of *belles-lettres*. His full bibliographies indicate that he is qualified to pass judgment on a vast amount of both. When writing, he evidently does not have in mind the dilettante with a half-hour to waste between teatime and dinner. There are no flights of words or of pigeons in this lapidary text; instead, here are statements of fact and cool discourse thereon. Creswell chisels his ideas in such a minimum of words that their understanding demands close heed, yet the reader is aware, always, that the author is trying to do but one thing, to make his clear thought lucid. For works of this nature his style is a model.

Because I am convinced that *Early Muslim Architecture* sets a new and much needed standard for publications in Islamic architectural history, it is difficult to refrain from making a more exhaustive analysis of the author's meticulous

[16] *Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra* (Berlin, 1927), III, 18 and notes.

method ("I read over my manuscript [of Ukhaiḍir] on the spot . . ." p. 252), but sufficient has been said to make the point; I now leave the work with the reader and my prophecy with time. Meanwhile, if I may be permitted to speak for all students working in the field, we await with impatience Professor Creswell's forthcoming *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, a work for which *Early Muslim Architecture* is, we understand, merely the prolegomenon.

In homage to the author I append a bibliography of recent publications on monuments in the period covered by *Early Muslim Architecture*, a list which, for reasons known to all, is far from complete but which, nevertheless, may be of some immediate value.

Ahwāz (near).

"Ritrovamento di monumenti arabi del periodo 'abbaside nella Persia di sud-ovest," *Oriente moderno*, XVI (1936), 470. (From *al-'Irāk*, 22 June, 1936).

The report states that remains of a building of the Abbassid period were excavated near Ahwāz (Khuzistan) and that coins and letters from governors to the caliph were recovered. But Allah knows best!

'Andjar.

Jean Sauvaget, "Les Ruines omeyyades de 'Andjar," *Bull. du museé de Beyrouth*, III.

Not seen. In his *Exposé de titres de Jean Sauvaget* (Limoges, 1945), p. 11, the author noted that this article formed the subject of a communication before the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres on 12 Jan. 1940. He identifies the ruins of a "town" founded by the Caliph al-Walīd I, the disposition of which suggests that the plan of Baghdad was derived from Umayyad prototypes.

Boṣrā. Cathedral. (512–13 A.D.).

J. W. Crowfoot: "The Cathedral at Bosra: a Preliminary Report," *Palestine Exploration [Fund]. Quart. [Statement]*, Jan. 1936, pp. 7–13, Pls. I–IV (including plan).

"The Cathedral at Bosra," in *Churches at Bosra and Samaria-Sebaste, British School of Archaeol. Jerusalem, Suppl. Papers*, No. 4 (London, 1937), Pt. I, 1–23, Pls. I–XI, 45 figs. (including plan, perspective, and section drawings by H. Detweiler).

Using the geometric scheme which, as Mauss has shown, was employed in setting out the plan of the Dome of the Rock, Creswell had made a hypothetical reconstruction of the central part of the plan of the cathedral at Boṣrā, in which he incorporated the single composite pier, reported by Butler, of an inner octagon.[17] *Sondages* by Crowfoot in 1934 and by Crowfoot and Detweiler in 1935 failed to locate the pier mentioned by Butler; instead, foundations were disclosed which show the central part of the plan was an awkward colonnaded quatrefoil. In the light of this discovery, Creswell may wish to modify his suggestion as to the influence of the cathedral of Boṣrā on the design of the Dome of the Rock. His pedigree of the latter is now reduced to three centralized plans, each set out with the inner circle as modulus:

1. Rome. Santa Constanza (324–26 A.D.); circle surrounded by circle.
2. Jerusalem. The Anastasis (327–33 A.D.); circle surrounded by circle.
3. Jerusalem. Church of the Ascension (before 378 A.D.); circle surrounded by octagon.
4. Jerusalem. Dome of the Rock (688–91 A.D.); circle surrounded by octagon surrounded by octagon.

Boṣrā. Djāmi' al-'Arūs.

Jean Sauvaget: "Les Inscriptions arabes de la mosquée de Bosra," *Syria*, XXII (1941), 53–65, plan [of Butler] and Pls. VII–VIII.

Several inscriptions, some new, dating from 102 H. (720–21 A.D. to 1221 A.D.) came to light during the restoration of the mosque at Boṣrā (Eski Shām), which the Sérvice des Antiquités, under the direction of Écochard, carried on during recent hostilities. Ten inscriptions are here published; the earliest, Sauvaget suggests, commemorates the transformation, by the

[17] K. A. C. Creswell, "The Origin of the Plan of the Dome of the Rock," *British School of Archaeol. Jerusalem, Supp. Papers*, No. 2 (London, 1924), *passim, idem, Early Muslim Architecture*, I (1932), 42 ff.

addition of a minaret, of an already existing mosque into a monumental one. The archeological publication will be made by Écochard.

Damascus. Great Mosque of al-Walīd.

MAX VON BERCHEM: "Notes archéologiques sur la mosquée des Omeyyades," *Damascus. Instit. français de Damas. Bull. des études orientales,* VII–VIII (1937–38), 39–56, 4 illus.

Notes made in April, 1894, after the fire of 1893. Not seen.

Djabal Sais. Umayyad castle, mosque, and habitations.

JEAN SAUVAGET: "Les Ruines omeyyades du Djebel Seis," *Syria,* XX (1939), 239–56, 13 figs.; 6 photographs reproduced on Pl. XLI.

On the shore of a khabra at the foot of Djabal Sais, a volcanic cone rising from the ḥamad at 100 km. east southeast of Damascus, Sauvaget, with Laoust, examined, in October, 1938, ruins which he identified as of an Umayyad ḳaṣr, a mosque, a bath, and some forty private dwellings. The ruins had been reported previously by De Vogüé, Dussaud, von Oppenheim, Poidebard, Bell, and others. Measured outside the walls, the ḳaṣr is 66.70 meters square, with bastions at the corners and at the middle of each wall, the single entrance being through one of the latter. Save for the bath, where the auxiliary material is baked brick, the low basalt walls of the buildings had originally upper courses of unbaked brick. The ḳaṣr was roofed with tiles. Over its vestibule is a vault of slightly pointed profile. The little, flat-roofed mosque had, until recently, a semidomed vault over its mihrab. The small bath has one dome: its other baked brick vaults are indicated on the plan as semicircular in profile; one, on a square plan, was, apparently, a cross vault—the author is not specific. If Sauvaget's Umayyad dating, based on similarity of construction techniques, plans, and other features of known Umayyad monuments, is accepted, the importance of the private house plans—the first of that period to be studied—will be of considerable interest. The author suggests identification of the site with Usais, one of the residences of the Caliph al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik, 86–96 H. (705–715 A.D.), the builder of the Great Mosque at Damascus.

Hazāra (Khozara, Khozar).

H. FIELD and E. PROSTOV: "Archaeology in the Soviet Union," *Amer. Anthropol.,* XXXIX (1937), 474–75, Pls. 4A, 5 (architecture discussed by E. Schroeder).

"Archeological Investigations in Central Asia, 1917–1937," *Ars Islamica,* V (1938), 250, Figs. 11, 12.

At this site, about 40 km. from Bukhara, the Bukhara Committee for the Preservation and Study of Material Culture found a building now used as a mosque which the committee attributes to the eighth century. From the meager information now available I deduce the following facts. The building has a square, centralized plan of nine bays: a central dome, a small dome at each corner, and domical vaults on the four rectangular flanking bays. Four heavy, cylindrical piers of brick, from which spring stilted pointed arches, support the central dome. The usual squinches and blind arches form the transition zone. Corbelled block stalactites, possibly of later date, show as transition for one of the flanking domical vaults. The heavy walls of mud brick are battered on the exterior. Piers, arches, and squinches are of baked brick. Lighting is from small windows above the springing of the flanking domical vaults. The brick of the piers are so laid that a soldier course alternates with two flat courses, either an early Islamic bond or an archaic mannerism. On the intrados of the four main arches, salient voussoirs form peculiar longitudinal projections reminiscent of the vestigial wood ribs in a Buddhist chaitya arch. Rather than ambulatory plan I see this grouping of bays as an extension of the vaulted space of a single room, one of the fundamental problems of vaulted architecture. The same solution was arrived at in central Persia as is shown by modern buildings near Kum, which I have studied. From the facts presented, the eighth-century dating suggested by the committee and the pre-Samanid attribution of Schroeder should be reserved until further evidence is made available.

Iṣṭakhr. Abbasid mosque.

"Oriental Institute Archaeological Report on the Near East," *Amer. Journ. Semitic Lang. and Lit.,* LV (1938), 108.

In 1937 Schmidt continued excavation of the mound, continuing work begun in 1935 by Herzfeld, who had identified Abbasid remains, including a shell-niched stone mihrab, carved stucco wall decoration, and re-used Achaemenian architectural fragments.

Ḳaṣr al-Ḥair al-Gharbī.

DANIEL SCHLUMBERGER: "Les Fouilles de Qaṣr el-Heir el-Gharbi (1936–1938): Rapport preliminaire," *Syria,* XX (1939), 195–239, 324–73, Pls. XXVII–XXXIX, XLIV–XLVII, 29 figs.; also in *Paris Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Comptes rendus,* 1937, pp. 134–39, 6 figs.

For the Sérvice des Antiquités de Syrie and the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Schlumberger excavated, during four seasons in 1936–38, at a site 60 kilometers west southwest of Palmyra, an Umayyad ḳaṣr, khan, and bath which, with a re-used pre-Islamic dam and canal, made up a manor complex—a hitherto unknown type of bādiya. The frescoes, stuccoes, and figural stucco sculpture of the ḳaṣr are documents of the highest importance for tracing the sources of early Islamic decorative motives and for defining the style of Umayyad art. Schlumberger distinguished, in the stuccoes, two pre-Islamic Hellenistic arts: Mediterranean Hellenistic and Sasanian (late offspring of Hellenistic). In the first category are motives from provincial Roman, Palmyrene, and Syrian Christian art; in the second are figures in Sasanian costume as well as Sasanian decorative motives. The mixture of styles as well as of motives points to a style in formation—the eclecticism caused by liturgy, the corvée of the state. Herzfeld's thesis of 1910 on the genesis of Islamic art, thinly documented at that time, is here corroborated in its principal contentions and is revealed as a work of genius. Once these stuccoes are assembled and in final publication they will constitute a corpus with which studies of early Islamic ornament, brilliantly launched by Dimand [18] and others, may be developed to a more inclusive and definitive level. Two important floor frescoes imitating mosaic, one of a galloping cavalier in Sasanian dress drawing the bow in a gazelle hunt, are reserved for publication in Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Paris, Commission de la fondation Piot, *Monuments et mémoires.*

[18] Dimand, *op. cit.*, pp. 293–337.

Ḳaṣr al-Ḥair al-Sharḳī.

H. SEYRIG: "Retour aux jardins de Kasr el-Heir," *Syria,* XV (1934), 24–32, 3 pls., 2 aerial views.

The author is of the opinion that the area of about 850 hectares within the walls was not an artificial lake but a vast *parc d'agrément,* including a game preserve, enclosed by a wall for nominal defense against a *razzia.* Plans of two of the gates in this wall are military rather than hydraulic. The author noted that this stone wall was originally carried higher by courses of unbaked brick, which explains why buttresses exist on a stone wall 1.50 to 2 meters high and 1.12 meters wide. A stone-vaulted acqueduct to the north brought water to the gardens from a source 30 kilometers distant. Had he more than parts of three days at his disposal when at the site in 1925, Gabriel would doubtless have checked his artificial lake theory by establishing the levels of the walls, the usual procedure in a problem involving hydraulics.

K. A. C. CRESWELL: "Another Word on Qasr Al-Ḥair," *Syria,* XVIII (1937), 232–33.

Agreeing with Seyrig that the walls enclosed a park rather than an artificial lake, Creswell cites passages in Yaḳūbī and Miskawaihī where the word ḥair refers to a game park (paradeisos), and suggests that the walls were not to keep the Bedouin out, but to keep the game in.[19]

Khirbat Mafdjar.

D. C. BARMAKI: "Excavations at Khirbet el Mefjer [I]," *Palestine Dept. Antiquites Quart.,* V (1936), 132–38, Figs. 1–3, Pls. LXXIV–LXXXVIII.

[19] See D. Schlumberger, "Les Fouilles de Qaṣr el-Ḥeir el-Gharbi," *Syria,* XX (1939), 365, note 2, for further discussion of the meaning of ḥair. Sauvaget has proposed identifying this site, rather than Ruṣāfa-Sergiopolis near the Euphrates, as Ruṣāfat Hishām; see his review of F. Gabrieli, *Il Califfato di Hishâm, studi di storia omayyade* (Alexandrie, 1935), *Damascus, Institut française, Bull. études orientales,* V (1935), 137.

Ibid., [II], VI (1937), 157–68, 2 figs., Pls. XLIII–LXVI.

Ibid., [III], VIII (1938), 51–53, 1 fig. Pls. XXXIV–XXXV.

Ibid., [IV], (1942), 153–59, 1 fig., Pls. XXX–XXXIV.

"The Pottery from Khirbet el Mefjer," *ibid.*, (1942), 65–103, 16 figs. (including plan), Pls. XVI–XXI.

"Where an 8th-Century Caliph Hoped to Spend Congenial Winters," *Illus. London News*, Sept. 3, 1938, pp. 407–9, 15 figs.

R. W. Hamilton: "Khirbat Mafjar. Stone Sculpture, I," *Palestine Dept. of Antiquities Quart.*, XI (1944), 47–66, Pls. XIII–XVI, Figs. 1–21; Pt. II, XII (1945), 1–19, Pls. I–X, Figs. 22–35. Part I describes capitals and bases; Part II, the decoration of wall surfaces.

"Plaster Balustrades from Khirbat al Mafjar," *ibid.*, XIII–1/2 (1947), 1–58, Figs. 1–68, Pls. I–XXIII.

M. Schwabe: "Khirbat Mafjar. Greek Inscription Fragments," *Palestine Dept. of Antiquities Quart.*, XII (1945), 20–30, Pl. XI.

From the winter of 1934–35 through 1940 Barmaki conducted excavations at this site for the Palestine Department of Antiquities. He has found an Umayyad villa-palace which he dated, from part of a letter written in ink on a slab of marble, in the reign of the Caliph Hishām, 105–25 H. (724–43 A.D.). Work on the building was stopped by an earthquake in 746 A.D. and by the fall of the dynasty in 750. That non-Moslems helped in its building is suggested by the many Christian as well as Muslim names painted on the stone masonry. The plan, of considerable interest, is not that of a ḳaṣr in the desert: apparently, two palaces, only one of which has been excavated, opened from an oblong, arcaded forecourt; in the middle of the latter was a fountain under an octagonal-square kiosk standing in a square pool. The South Palace plan—the one so far excavated—shows a mosque and independent suites of rooms grouped about a square, arcaded court. Steps led to a bath below and to other apartments above, both paved with mosaic. The ornate entrance from the forecourt was covered with a multifoil tunnel vault of cut stone springing from walls decorated with carved stucco in two zones, the upper zone of shell-headed niches holding, in one instance, a half-nude dancing girl in the round, the lower zone with some panels having human heads projecting in full relief from guilloche-framed coffers, and other panels show designs and treatment reminiscent of those found in Persian soil at Damghan (Teppe Hissar) and Rayy (Chal Tarkhān). Clustered wall piers of cut stone, plastered over with carved spiral and vertical fluting and reeding, divided the wall space, but appear to have had no structural connection with the vault above. Stucco panels of balustrades of the second order of the court arcade show the beginnings of Islamic space-filling style and illustrate by their different states of relative completion the technique employed. The stone sculpture (the stucco sculpture has not been published as yet) shows that part of the art of Khirbat Mafdjar as a revival, if not a continuation, of the local Christian art, but with a variety and vitality unusual in a revival, this from the foreign workmen. The Greek inscriptions indicate the presence of many Christians among the workmen. The site is yielding material of first importance for the study of Umayyad architecture and art.

Khirbat al-Minya.

First season (1932):

A. E. Mader: "Die Ausgrabungen eines römischen Kastells auf Chirbet Minje an der Via Maris am See Genazareth," *Forschungen und Forstschritte*, VIII (1932), 229–30.

"Die Ausgrabung eines römischen Kastells auf Chirbet el-Minje . . . bei eṭ-Ṭābgha am See Gennasareth," *Journ. Palestine Oriental Soc.*, XIII (1933), 209–20. 2 figs. (plans).

"Khirbat Minya," *Palestine Dept. of Antiquites Quart.* II (1933), 88–89.

Résumé of season's work.

Second season (1936):

A. M. Schneider: "Die Grabung Görresgegesellschaft auf Chirbet Minje am See Genazareth," *Oriens Christianus*, 3d ser., II (1936), 102–5, 3 figs. (plans).

"Die Grabung auf Chirbet el-Minje am Genasarethsee," *Deutscher Verein vom Heiligen Lande, Palästina-Hefte,* 15 (1937), 7–24, 7 figs. (2 plans, 2 sections), 14 Abb., 2 color plates (mosaic floors).

This report together with the one listed as number 1 of the excavation reports of the third season (by Puttrich-Reignard in *Palästina-Hefte,* 1937) were published as a separate booklet with the title: A. M. Schneider–O. Puttrich–Reignard, *Ein frühislamischer Bau am See Genesareth* (Köln, 1937).

A. Alt: "Ein Ghassanidenschloss am See Genazareth?," *Deutscher Verein zur Enforschung Palästina's, Deutschen Palästina-vereins. Zeitschr.,* LIX (1936), 214–26, 2 figs. (plans).

"Khirbet Minya," *Palestine Dept. Antiquites Quart.,* VI (1937), 215–17.

Résumé of season's work.

Third season (1937):

O. Puttrich-Reignard: "Die dritte Grabungskampagne auf Chirbet el-Minje," *Deutscher Verein vom Heiligen Lande, Pälastina-Hefte,* 15 (1937), 25–41, 1 plan and 16 Abb.

A. M. Schneider: "Bemerkungen zum neuen Bericht über die Grabungen in Chirbet el-minje," *Oriens Christianus,* 35, Hft. 1 (1938), 122–26.

A rather amazing review of the previous item.

O. Puttrich-Reignard: "Die dritte Grabung auf Chirbet el-minje bei Tabgha am See Genazareth in Palästina," *Das Heilige Land,* LXXXI (1937), 117–22, 1 plan, 8 Figs.

"Bericht über die Frühjahrsgrabung 1937 auf Chirbet el-minje bei Tabgah am See Genazareth in Palästina," *Oriens Christianus,* 34, Hft. 2 (1938), 269–72, (1 plan).

"Khirbet Minya," *Palestine Dept. Antiquities Quart.,* VII (1938), 49–51.

Résumé of season's work.

Fourth season, (1937–38):

O. Puttrich-Reignard: "Die Ergebnisse der dritten und vierten Ausgrabungskampagne auf Chirbet el Minje . . .," *Berliner Museen,* LIX (1938), 80–84, 4 figs. (1 plan).

"Khirbet Minya," *Palestine Dept. Antiquites Quart.,* VIII (1938), 159–60.

Résumé of season's work.

Fifth season (1938–39):

O. Puttrich-Reignard: "Die Palastanlage von Chirbet el Minje," *Das heilige Land in Vergagenheit und Gegenwart. Palästinahefte des deutschen Vereins vom heiligen Lande,* Hft. 17–20 (1939), 9–29, 18 figs., 1 pl. (in color).

E. Kühnel: "Die Bauinschrift," *Das heilige Land in Vergagenheit und Gegenwart. Palästinahefte des deutschen Vereins vom heiligen Lande,* Hft. 17–20 (1939), 13–14.

A. M. Schneider: "Die Mosaiken von Chirbet el Minje," *Das heilige Land in Vergagenheit und Gegenwart. Palästinahefte des deutschen Vereins vom heiligen Lande,* Hft. 17–20 (1939), 30–33, 5 figs.

"Die 'Bauinschrift' von chirbet el-minje," *Oriens Christianus,* XXXVI (1939), 115–17.

States that the inscription does not belong!

"Khirbet Minya," *Palestine Dept. Antiquites Quart.,* IX (1939–42), 209–10.

Résumé of season's work.

Five seasons of excavation by the Görresgesellschaft, later with the Islamic Department of the Staatlichen Museen, Berlin, under various field-directors (1932, Mader; 1937, Schneider; 1937, 1937–38, 1928–29, Puttrich-Reignard), have uncovered a building identified first as a Roman castle, then as a post-Byzantine pre-Islamic palace, and, finally, with the discovery of a mosque and an inscription in the name of the Caliph al-Walīd [I], as an unfinished Umayyad palace. The plan shows a structure about 70 meters roughly square, its cut stone faced curtain wall strengthened by hemicylindrical bastion-buttresses at the corners and midway along the north, west, and east sides. In the east wall, between hemi-

cylindrical buttresses, is a highly monumental gateway which, however, could not be closed. At a height of 8 meters the niche-flanked entrance passage was covered by a calotte dome incorporating semicalottes and resting on pendentives of cut stone. From this gateway a liwan led to the central courtyard, about which are liwan rooms and groups of rooms; one room, in the southeastern corner, being identified by its niche as a mosque. Several elegant polychrome mosaic pavements—all in geometrical designs—have been recovered, as well as acanthus ornament in carved stone, geometric *claustra* in stucco, and marble capitals of debased Corinthian style. The brief and often contradictory preliminary publications scattered through several journals leave many questions which will, it is hoped, be answered in a final report.[20]

Al-Khuwailāt.

"Scoperto di un palazzo dell' epoca 'abbaside," *Oriente moderno,* XVI (1936), 342 (from al-Ayyān, 8 May, 1936).

In the mounds of al-Khuwailāt (al-Khuwaisilāt?) north of Ḳaṣr al-'Āshiḳ, near the Samarra-Takrīt road, the Iraq Department of Antiquites made trial excavations in 1936 which revealed a palace richly decorated with carved plaster revetments. Identification of the palace as the Ḳaṣr al-Djiss [21] of the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim is suggested. Excavations will be continued.

Medina. Umayyad mosque.

Jean Sauvaget: *La Mosquée omeyyade de Médine: étude sur les origines architecturales de la mosquée et de la basilique.* Damascus, 1945(?). *Ca.* 250 pp., 34 figs, 8 pls.

Not seen. Noted by the author, in his *Exposé de titres . . .*, p. 13, as in press.

Nishapur.

J. M. Upton: "The Persian Expedition, 1934–1935: Excavations at Nīshāpūr," *N. Y. Metropolitan Mus. Art Bull.,* XXXI (1936), 176–82, 6 figs., and cover illus.

M. S. Dimand, C. K. Wilkinson, W. Hauser, and J. M. Upton: "The Īrānian Expedition, 1936," *N. Y. Metropolitan Mus. Art. Bull.,* XXXII, 10, Pt. II (1937), 1–39, 45 figs.

"The Iranian Expedition, 1937; The Museum's Excavations at Nīshāpūr," *ibid.,* XXXIII, 11, Pt. II (1938), 1–23, 28 figs. and cover illus.

Illus. London News, Feb. 19, 1938, pp. 296–97, 12 figs.

J. M. Upton: "In the Ruins of Nishapur," *Asia,* Aug., 1939, pp. 445–49, illus.

Illus. London News, March 23, 1940, pp. 390–91, 8 figs. (4 in color).

W. Hauser, and C. K. Wilkinson: "The Museum's Excavations at Nīshāpūr," *N. Y. Metropolitan Mus. Art Bull.,* XXXVII, 4 (1942), 83–119, 46 figs. and cover illus.

Illus. London News, April 1, 1944, pp. 388–89, 16 figs.

During five seasons between 1935–40 Upton, Hauser, and Wilkinson carefully excavated various mounds in this vast site for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, disclosing, *inter alia,* architectural remains dating from the eighth to the twelfth centuries. In Teppe Sabz Pūshān, where there had been a residential quarter, were found two groups of painted stucco niches from stalactite vaults, of which one group, dating not later than the ninth century and possibly from the end of the eighth, gives the earliest known evidence of stalactite vaulting. This example is remarkable in that the material alone shows that it was already a nonstructural revetment. In the same mound were uncovered the first-known early Islamic wall paintings to be found on Persian soil; the subjects represented are daemons and females; the paintings are dated between the eighth and the early ninth centuries. This mound also yielded a carved stucco dado of the latter tenth century. At another mound, Teppe Madrasa, among buried remains of a more

[20] The last field director, Dr. O. Puttrich-Reignard, fell during the war (in 1942).—Ed.

[21] Al Muḳaddasī reported a Ḳaṣr al-Djiss in the suburban region of Samarra, cf. M. J. de Goeje, *Descripto imperii moslemici, Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum* (Leyden, 1876), III, 115. In 1937 I saw the finds in the Khan Ortma Museum, Baghdad.

monumental architecture, was found an important sequence of carved stucco wall incrustation which documents this style medium through three periods: late ninth century, tenth century, and eleventh century. Other wall decorations discovered in this mound were a coffered style revetment made of molded mud units heavily painted in polychrome and a new style of wall painting dating from the ninth century showing compositions based on circles, lozenges, or octagons and formed of imbrications (or feathers), hands, fronds, and marble veining. In a third mound, Ḳanāt Teppe, in the ruins of a small mosque of the early ninth century, was found a mihrab of rectangular plan (the semicircular niche has not been noted in Nishapur mihrabs), with painted decoration of square and circular coffers enclosing rosettes.

Termez (Tirmidh). Kyrḳ Ḳyz.

E. Herzfeld: "Damascus: Studies in Architecture—I," *Ars Islamica,* IX (1942), 34, Figs. 24, 25; (from B. B. Zasypkīn, "Pamiatnīkī Arkhītektury Termezkogo Raĭona," *Kultura Vostoka, Sbornik Museĭa Vostochykh Kultur,* II [Moscow, 1928], Figs. 12, 13.)

The plan of this ruin near Termez, which Herzfeld thinks is "probably not later than the third century H.," shows pointed tunnel vaults, parallel tunnel vaults resting directly on transverse arches, and, in one corner area, square bays covered by groined (cross-) vaults resting on side walls and pointed arches, the latter springing from square piers and walls. For this part of the world the combination of groined vaults and piers is, so far as I now know, too advanced for the period noted. My present thought is that the groined (cross-)vault was an intrusion from the West; thus, at Ukhaiḍir, its presence gave Bell a clue for a dating of that monument. From examination of hundreds of Persian Islamic monuments I can state that it was never popular there, although examples are found, as in the ruined Mongol mosque at Varāmīn.[22]

Umayyad ḳaṣrs.

Jean Sauvaget: "Remarques sur les monuments omeyyades. I: Châteaux de Syrie," *Journ. asiatique,* CCXXI (1939), 1–59.

Contains historical observations on several known Umayyad sites and claims as Umayyad many monuments previously considered Byzantine or Roman. The list: 1. Ruṣafat Hishām (pp. 1–13). 2. Ḳuṣair 'Amrā (pp. 13–16, Fig. 1 [inscr.]). 3. Kharāna (pp. 16–18). 4. Ḳaṣṭal of the Balḳā (pp. 18–20). 5. Ḳuṣair al-Ḥallābāt (pp. 20–22, Fig. 2 [plan]). 6. Ḳaṣr Burḳu' (pp. 23–24, Fig. 3 [inscr.]). 7. Khirbat al-Baiḍā (pp. 24–26, Fig. 4 [plan]). 8. Ḳaṣr al-Ṭūba (pp. 26–28). 9. Umm al-Walīd (pp. 28–29, Fig. 5 [plan]). 10. Khān al-Zabīb (pp. 30–31, Fig. 6 [plan]). 11. Mshattā (pp. 31–35). 12. al-Muwaḳḳar (pp. 35–36). 13. Khirbat al-Minya (pp. 36–37). 14. 'Abda (pp. 37–39, Fig. 7 [plan]). 15. Rḥaiba (p. 39). 16. Bāyar (pp. 39–40). 17. Zīzā (p. 40). Ḳaṣr al-Ṣwāb (pp. 40–42, Fig. 18 [site plan]). 19. Khirbat al Khān (p. 42, Fig. 9 [plan]). 20. Mghayar (p. 35). 21. 'Abrā al-Fūḳānī (p. 42). 22. Tell Fhīda (p. 42). 23. Udhruḥ (p. 43). 24. Ma'ān (pp. 43–44). 25. Ḳaṣrs of the Wādi 'Araba (pp. 44–54. List of seventeen monuments, with superficial dimensions and notes on such towers as exist, p. 46). Description of several kasrs in the group: A. Moyat 'Awād, pp. 47–49, Fig. 10 [site plan]; B. 'Ain Gharandal, pp. 49–51; C. Ḳaṣr al-Djahaniya II, pp. 51–52, Fig. 11 [plan]; D. al-Ḥuṣub, pp. 52–53). 26. Ḥawwarīn (pp. 54–59, Fig. 12 [plan]). Fig. 13 is of four plans of Syrian audience halls: Inkhil (antique), Bosra (Byzantine), Khirbat Mafdjar and Khirbat al-Minya (Umayyad).

Henri Stern: "Notes sur l'architecture des châteaux omeyyades," *Ars Islamica,* XI–XII (1946), 72–97, 24 figs., plans.

The camp of al-Ḳaṣṭal is the central theme of this paper. The author thinks it is Umayyad, not Roman or Ghassānid, as previously supposed. Origins of the Umayyad ḳaṣr plan are discussed. Lacking material evidence for the Lakhmid type ḳaṣr, the author holds the Umayyad ḳaṣr type the model for Ukhaiḍir and Samarra to the east and for the ribāṭ of Susa (Sousse) in the west.

Wāsiṭ.

"I monumenti arabi di Wasit," *Oriente moderno,* XIX (1939), 295. (From *al-Bilād,* Mar. 3, 1939).

[22] For illustrations see A. U. Pope, "The Architecture of the Islamic Period. . . .," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London–New York, 1938–39), IV, Pl. 304C, there wrongly identified as in the Masdjid-i-Djāmi' 'Atīḳ, Shiraz.

On the right bank of the Tigris, at a point one-half mile from the ruins of a bridge, excavations of the Iraq Department of Antiquities have uncovered the remains of what is thought to be a mosque built by the Umayyad governor, al-Ḥadjdjādj. Among the features mentioned are an enclosed area of 10,000 square meters, walls 1.60 meters thick, several doors, 156 columns—some bearing inscriptions—a large mihrab, and, within the area, circular bases believed to have been those of minarets.

Pointed arch.

JEAN SAUVAGET: "Remarques sur les monuments omeyyades. II: Argenteries 'sassanides,'" *Mélanges asiatiques* [*Journ. asiatique*], 1940–41, pp. 19–57, 6 figs.

Protoganists for the Persian origin of the pointed arch have sought to support their thesis by citing the example which appears in the architectural motive engraved on the well-known bronze plate in the Kaiser Friederich Museum, published by Sarre as Parthian-Sasanian and by Pope, Ackerman, Orbeli, and Reuther as Sasanian. In a rigorous criticism of method, Sauvaget demolishes the fire temple and garden palace identifications of the building represented and equates its form with the early tenth-century tomb of Ismā'īl the Samanid at Bukhara. From this and other considerations, notably the floral ornament, Sauvaget attributes the plate to the Islamic period at a time near that of the tomb of Ismā'īl. Another famous architectural plate showing a pointed arch, this the parcel-gilt and silver specimen in the Hermitage, which Sarre attributed to the beginning of the Sasanian period, Reuther to the sixth century, and Pope-Ackerman to the late Sasanian–post-Sasanian period, is likewise studied in detail; its kasr is compared with Rabāt-i-Malik 1078–79 A.D.) and Giaur Ḳal'a, and it, also, is placed three centuries after the Sasanian period. Arguments stressing the importance of Western (Umayyad) contributions to early Islamic art conclude the article.

Vault. Transverse tunnel vaults on diaphragm arches.

ERNST HERZFELD: "Damascus: Studies in Architecture—II," *Ars Islamica*, X (1943), 52–53, 55, Fig. 23.; *cf.* his *Iran in the Ancient East* (New York, 1941), Pl. XCVII.

Found at Ukhaiḍir, Khan Ortma (Baghdad), and in Persian building to this day and long considered Sasanian in origin because of its occurrence at Īwān-i-Karkh (Khuzistan), this vault form is now disclosed by Herzfeld as pre-Sasanian, being found, he reports, in the Arsacid period (first century A.D.) of the castle of Kūh-i-Khwāḍja (Seistan).

M. B. SMITH

Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art. By Eric Schroeder. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1942. Pp. xii + 166, 28 pls. $5.00. (Out of print.)

Eric Schroeder's book is perhaps the most interesting of the larger publications on Persian painting that have appeared in recent years. It has a double character, being both a catalogue of the thirty-three Fogg Museum miniatures and "a kind of general supplement to the histories of Persian miniature painting." As a catalogue, the book is admirable; all of the miniatures are reproduced, and finely reproduced, in monochrome collotype, and in one instance a detail enlargement is also given (Persian miniatures repay enlargement, and one would like to see the example widely followed). The descriptions are excellent: color notes, full accounts on calligraphy, literary content, relation to text, details of costume—all are here in lavish profusion, in addition to more routine matters. There are full references to the authorities and critics. Such copious detail would be impossible in the case of large collections, but that does not, of course, detract from one's admiration for the care and enthusiasm which have gone to the preparation of this book.

The Fogg collection contains some precious things, including no less than four of the dispersed miniatures from the great *Shah Namah* once belonging to Demotte (three are on loan), and a less-known *Shah Namah* miniature of Tahmīna entering the chamber where Rustam has been sleeping; this, small but exquisite, merits the high praise bestowed on it. One must agree with Schroeder that it far surpasses the

somewhat similar miniature in the *Shah Namah* belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, London, which the late Laurence Binyon and other critics have admired so much. (I admit that I still have a fondness for it—influenced, perhaps unduly, by its fine colors.) Two other *Shah Namah* miniatures come from the very interesting and profusely illustrated mid-fourteenth century manuscript which used to belong to Mrs. Stephens, and which (sad to find!) has, like the Demotte copy of the epic, now been dismembered. The miniatures should have been kept together. Of the other miniatures, early and late, it will be sufficient to remark that they are fairly well representative of the various periods, though the collection has not, as yet, any particularly noteworthy examples of the work of the "Bihzādian" artists, or those of the early Safawids.

When Schroeder is describing and criticizing individual miniatures his writing is usually clear and helpful and bears evidence of an unusual combination of qualities—scholarship and historical knowledge, a sensitive eye for aesthetic quality, the ability to express the salient features of a composition, and above all, independence of judgment. One may not always agree with him; sometimes he seems to overpraise (No. 17 in this collection, for instance): sometimes he is a little precious and hard to follow, but this side of his book is on the whole, useful and enlightening. Both here, however, and also when he goes beyond the strict "catalogue" parts of his book, he is unequal. He is not, I think, always generous in giving credit to the pioneers in what is a difficult and relatively new study. He sets himself high standards of accuracy and is rightly severe on anything ambiguous or slipshod, but he sometimes makes needlessly recondite allusions, like that to the late Geoffrey Scott on page 10. He occasionally refers in his text to points only previously mentioned in footnotes, which does not make for easy reading. His spelling of Oriental words is not quite consistent: 'Iraqī (p. 36), but Muqaffa (p. 31, the ' being omitted), Mobid, but Dust, 'aml for 'amal. From his account of Āqā Rizā, clear and interesting as it is, one might derive the impression that it is a new discovery that this painter is quite distinct from Rizā 'Abbāsī, though this is the generally accepted view now.

Schroeder has, by his researches, been able to make several new points regarding the art history of the Timurid period, though his theories about the various centers of miniature painting, and the differing character, in this and earlier periods, would require more careful testing than I have been able to give before they can be fairly assessed.

Some years ago, in *Ars Islamica* (Vol. VI, Part 2), Schroeder published a controversial article on the dating of the pivotal "Demotte" *Shah Namah,* and in this book he returns to the charge. He would place its miniatures "probably between 1350 and 1375," which is considerably later than most authorities would admit. It would take too long to examine his arguments in detail here, and it will be sufficient to note that his case rests mainly on two lines of evidence: first, that of costume, and secondly, that contained in the (now well-known) sixteenth-century account of painters by Dūst Muhammad: the evidence of both kinds is plausible, but not, I think, ultimately convincing. Dūst Muhammad's historical sketch is in fact contradicted in one important particular by the account of Mīrzā Ḥaidar Dughlāt, who is probably quite as reliable a witness, though both are a long, long way removed from eyewitnesses. Once the weakness of the evidence is admitted, the attribution of particular miniatures in the "Demotte" *Shah Namah* to individual artists named by Dūst Muhammad cannot be anything but guesswork, and should be set down as such.

Is it war-weariness, one wonders, which makes one doubt at times whether the matter of attribution of Persian miniatures to particular artists is worth all the research, all the scrutiny

of heavy volumes which are involved? One sometimes feels, irreverently, as Keats did about the rainbow, or Trulac about the poet: "He does not number the streaks of the tulip, or describe the different shades in the verdure of the forest." Though parts of Schroeder's book are hard going, and though one may not always agree either with his general theories or with his pronouncements, favorable or otherwise, on particular miniatures, he has certainly given the critics plenty to think about and is obviously equipped at all points to defend his opinions.

J. V. S. Wilkinson

Introduction à l'histoire de l'orient musulman: éléments de bibliographie, by J. Sauvaget. Paris: Ardien-Maisonneuve, 1943. Pp 202. Volume I of Initiation à l'Islam: collection publiée sous le patronage de l'Institut des Études Islamiques de l'Université de Paris.

This handbook, to quote the author's prefatory words, is dedicated ". . . aux étudiants des écoles françaises, et non aux érudits." More specifically, the author is writing principally for students in French schools of oriental languages and young French historians entering upon the study of Islam.

Whether Sauvaget has been successful or not hinges primarily upon the question of whether this book is intended to take the place of a flesh-and-blood mentor or whether it is intended merely to supplement his guidance. The author himself does not make it clear what his intentions are in this respect, but he seems to have had the second purpose in mind if we are to take the cue given by his words in the preface (pp. 3–4): ". . . l' expérience qui lui [the author] a dicté le choix et les principes qu'il présente est trop brève et trop peu profonde pour prétendre tout connaître et tout juger; au surplus, ce n'est pas là un ouvrage de critique." These words are well chosen, for the range covered by Sauvaget's book is not that of history in the narrow sense, but is inclusive of all its tributary studies: geography, literature, religion, and science. Needless to say, the scope of such a task as Sauvaget has set for himself is a vast one, which few modern Islamists, save perhaps Carl Brockelmann, would have had the temerity to undertake.

Such being the case, it is inevitable that there should occur a number of instances where other scholars more specialized than Sauvaget in certain fields will differ with him over certain of his critiques and analyses. For example, to maintain, as Sauvaget does (p. 15), that the first signs of modern development of the Islamic East under European influence are not discernible until the middle of the nineteenth century is to overlook the facts of history. In Egypt, Muhammad Ali had by 1815 abandoned the medieval feudalistic organization of the Egyptian army and with the help of French officers (notably Colonel Sèves) had begun to reconstitute it along European lines. During the 1820's considerable progress was made in the modernization of the Egyptian fleet. As part of his program to make Egypt economically independent of Europe, Muhammad Ali in 1822 invited the Frenchman Jumel to supervise the erection of cotton-spinning machinery in Egypt; and by 1833 a polytechnic school had been founded in Cairo. It is clear, therefore, that European ideas had begun to react on Egypt well before the time set by Sauvaget.

Again, one is inclined to question Sauvaget's judgment in labeling Hitti's *History of the Arabs* as "superficiel." Hitti's work is a descriptive, not an analytical history. It is not ideal from every point of view, but it is certainly not superficial. The truth is that the ideal work of its type, like the ideal bibliographical introduction to the history of the Moslem East, remains to be written.

Sauvaget's method of approaching his subject has been to divide it into three main categories:

I: Sources of information, containing an

evaluation of the available archival material, narrative sources, and archeological sources. In this connection, it is of particular interest to note the author's attitude toward the history of art, as opposed to archeology, which figures in his discussion of the relative value of these two disciplines to the student of Islam (p. 52):

> L'histoire de l'art se propose de retracer l'évolution des conceptions esthétiques et des modes d'expression artistique. Elle ne s'intéresse qu'à l'oeuvre de l'art, analyse des faits qui appartiennent au domain de l'émotion. Elle se classe ainsi en définitive parmi les sciences philosophiques (esthétique): si on l'appelle «histoire», c'est parce qu'elle essaie de suivre une évolution et qu' elle porte le plus souvent sur des monuments du passé, mais ses procédés d'investigation ne sont pas ceux de l'histoire.

It hardly needs to be said that in this country such a delineation of the province of the history of art would be considered a very narrow one indeed; in fact, one might very properly raise the question as to whether Sauvaget in his own mind has clearly distinguished the aims and methods of the history of art from those of art criticism, which are two distinct, though related, disciplines. Sauvaget's attitude toward the history of art is further revealed by the manner in which he contrasts its methodology with that of archeology, which is based on "objective observation, systematic comparison, and logical deduction"; he implies that these procedures are not those of the history of art also. The fact is that one cannot divorce archeology and the history of art from each other as completely as Sauvaget would do; each is complementary to the other and employs some of the other's techniques and methods. If earlier workers in the history of Islamic art have made errors and some of their successors have failed to profit by these mistakes the same can be said of archeology, yet no one denies that the latter has made valuable contributions to our knowledge of history and culture.

II (pp. 57–94): This section takes up reference works and collections of documents; it is here that the bibliographical part of the work begins. In addition to bibliography *per se*, the fields covered include periodicals, chronology, grammar and lexicography, collections of archival material, numismatics, epigraphy, archeology, geography, travel, institutions, human geography, and ethnography. Included in this section are most of the basic works which the student will need to consult. There are, however, some surprising omissions. Under the heading of bibliography, for example, no mention is made of the two most basic Arabic works in that field: the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm and the *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* of Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa. Among the English-language periodicals a notable omission is that of the *Royal Central Asian Journal*. For some unexplained reason *Le Monde oriental*, *Archiv orientalni*, *Ars Islamica*, and the *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts* of Fu'ād I University (no longer the Egyptian University, as the author continues to call it) are listed under the rubric of Turkish-language periodicals. Important lacunae in the realm of lexicography include the *Tadj al-'Arūs*, the *Lisān al-'Arab*, and the *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* among the Arabic dictionaries; and Haïm's English-Persian and Persian-English dictionaries, the *Burhān-i-Ḳaṭi'*, the *Farhang-i-Nafīsī*, and Vullers' *Lexicon* on the Persian side. It is appropriate to mention at this point that Redhouse's standard *Turkish and English Lexicon* is in the process of being re-edited and republished in the new Latin letters, which will be a tremendous boon to English-speaking students of the Turkish language.

Of Creswell's two large works on Moslem architecture only Volume I, dealing with the Umayyad period, is referred to, and then under the heading of Umayyad history (p. 120) instead of archeology (pp. 77–78), where it properly belongs. L. A. Mayer's *Annual Bibliography of Islamic Art and Archeology* can no longer be counted as a source for current publications in that field, because it has not been published since 1939.

It is surprising, in view of the considerable amount of good work that Sauvaget has done in the field of Islamic archeology, to find that the section which deals with that subject is one of the weakest and most poorly organized in the whole book. The bibliography included under this chapter deals almost entirely with *Kleinkunst* and contains nothing whatsoever on excavations; it will be of little use even to the beginner. Other material on Islamic art does exist in this book, but most of it has been scattered throughout section III, which is labeled "Bibliographie élémentaire de l'historie de l'Islam," instead of having been brought together under one appropriate heading.

III: This section presents a basic historical bibliography covering general works, pre-Islamic Arabia, Muhammad, the Arab conquest, the Umayyads, the Abbasids, Ismailism, the Seljuks, the Mongols, the Safawids, the Ottomans, North Africa and Spain, and relations with Europe. Qualitatively, this is superior to the preceding section and reveals the fields in which the author is most at home. The chapters on pre-Islamic Arabia, the Umayyads, the Abbasids, the Seljuks, the Mamelukes, and the Ottomans should prove particularly useful to the student. There are, however, some omissions and oversights which should be noted. N. A. Faris' edition [1] of the *Iklīl* of al-Hamdānī is to be preferred to that of al-Karmalī (p. 106), and Faris' translation of the same work should have been noted. W. Schoff's translation of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* is indispensible for the study of the commerce of pre-Islamic Arabia (p. 108), and Montgomery's *Arabia and the Bible* should have been recommended to those entering upon the study of this phase of Arab history. Among works dealing with the history of the text of the Koran, Jeffery's *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān* (Leiden, 1937) should by all means have been included on page 114. Roger Lescot's *Enquête sur les Yezidis de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjār* (Beirut, 1938) is missed on page 129. Finally, the chapter on relations with Europe might well have included Samuel Chew's *The Crescent and the Rose* and Byron Porter Smith's *Islam in English Literature* (Beirut, 1939) for the postmedieval period.

A word about the transliteration. The author correctly observes (p. 5) that "il règne en ce domaine une fantaisie qui confine à l'anarchie," but does little to correct the state of affairs which he deplores. He describes both the Arabic *ḍād* and the *ẓā'* as "*d̲* emphatique," which is true in popular speech but not in the classical language. His transliteration of *ḍamma* is particularly inconsistent, at times being rendered by *o* and again by *ou* (thus *moſâkhara* on p. 25 but *oumma* on p. 21), while *ḳāf* is transliterated by *g* (as in *gaṣîda* on p. 25) and by *q* (p. 5 and *passim*). Once again the need is shown for a generally accepted system of transliterating Arabic (as well as Persian and other oriental languages using non-Latin scripts) in order to eliminate the confusion and bewilderment which such transliterations cause for beginners and even fairly well-advanced students.

There is no clear indication of the chronological *terminus ad quem* which Sauvaget has set for his work. Certainly, this bibliography cannot pretend to cover the modern period in the Moslem East. On page 15 the author gives the impression that he intends to go only as far as the middle of the nineteenth century, yet he includes (p. 61) such occasional items as the American University of Beirut's *A Post-War Bibliography of the Near Eastern Mandates, 1919–1930,* which, under the circumstances, seems to be somewhat out of place.

Viewed from the standpoint of its over-all utility, there is no doubt that Sauvaget's work has made a decided contribution to the furthering of Islamic studies. It is the work of an original and vigorous mind whose capabilities have been amply demonstrated in the many valuable

[1] Assuming that it was available to the author.

contributions which the author has made to the fields of Islamic archeology and history. True, the day is past when any one scholar can aspire to the Aristotelian universality of knowledge necessary for the production of the perfect or even near-perfect work of this type; but Sauvaget may well have provided the basis upon which other scholars, including specialists in the various fields of Islamics, can collaborate in the making of an improved version of this kind of a handbook. Until that has been accomplished, no student of Islam can afford to be without a copy of Sauvaget's *Introduction* in his personal library.

HAROLD W. GLIDDEN

Arab Archery: "A Book on the Excellence of the Bow and Arrow and the Description Thereof," translated by Nabih Amin Faris, with Notes and Appendix by Robert Potter Elmer [T. Hudson Christopher, pseud.]. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1945. Pp. xi + 182; diagrams, and 3 pls. $3.00.

The translation is made from an anonymous Arabic MS of about 1500, now in the Princeton University Library, but not reproduced in the book. Elmer's notes include an acute discussion of some of the more difficult problems and technical terms; the work of both authors inspires confidence. I am not in a position to criticize the translation as such, but cannot help wondering whether on page 125, line 4, the reference is not to the overlapping scales rather than "teeth" of a fish; perhaps the "fish" was a sturgeon, that is, of the Ganoid type that naturalists still speak of as "armored." The reference is, indeed, to shields; but the subject is closely related to that of bodily scale armor, such as was already used by the Assyrians, and of which the origins have been discussed at length by B. Laufer (*Chinese Clay Figures* [London, 1914], pp. 258–91). The allusion to Muṣṭafā Kānī's book on Turkish archery (published in 1847, not in the "thirties") on page 158 should have been supported by reference to the full analysis of this work that was published under the title "Bogenhandwerk und Bogensport bei den Osmanen," by Joachim Hein in *Der Islam* (XIV, XV, 1925, 1926), and to the abbreviated, but annotated and illustrated translation by Professor Paul E. Klopsteg, which was published in 1934 in an edition of only one hundred copies.[1]

With reference to the discussion of the shape of Arab bows, the statement of Belon, quoted on page 160; "The bows of the Arabs resemble more the Grecian than the Turkish bows, for the Turks of Asia carry a little bow well braced up, strongly curved, and very stiff . . . the Arabs have their bows big," reminds one of what may be the earliest extant reference to "Arab archery," that of Herodotus (vii. 69), who called the Arab bow παλίντονος ("back-stretched"); Aeschylus said the same of Scythian bows (*Choëphoroi* 160). The term is Homeric, and being applied to strung or unstrung bows might seem to refer to the shape of the bow itself, which is strongly curved in one direction when unstrung, and in the other when strung, and as remarked by Agatho on Athenaeus (454 C) like a Greek Σ or Ω: this would apply to such bows as the authors illustrate on the plate facing page 161. How then is the bow to be thought of as illustrating "the harmony of opposite tension," that is, the coincidence of contraries in their common principle (Heracleitus, fr. 45)? Not, I think, because of the shape of the bow but with reference to its operation. For the "opposite tensions" are illustrated also by the harp (of which the curvature is not reversed when unstrung); and according to Eustathius the point is that the bow is "bent with respect to contrary parts" (ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη κλινόμενον), in which sense all bows are "back-stretched." The

[1] On p. 18 the references should be to *Der Islam*, Vols. XIV, XV, 1925 and 1926, not 1924, 1925.

reference must be then to the opposite pulls that are actually exerted by the strung bow, or potentially exerted by one unstrung; to pull in opposite directions is the essential property of any bow; the point of Heracleitus' fragment being that it is *one* thing that works in contrary directions. It follows, of course, that παλίντονος is a general epithet, and really tells nothing about the shape of an Arab bow.[2]

The treatment throughout is almost exclusively practical, and it is to be presumed that all that has to do with the spiritual values of archery would have been communicated orally by the master to his disciple. Only under the head of "Proprieties" (p. 24) we are told that the bow should be carried "in the manner in which the Apostle of God commanded that it should be carried," and also that the archer should walk barefoot when recovering the arrows that have been shot at a target, "in accordance with a tradition ascribed to the Prophet, which regards the course between the archer and his aim as a strip of Paradise." This Hadith is cited also by Muṣṭafā Kānī.[3] The authors opine that the reason for walking barefoot must be purely practical, the archer walking barefoot in order the better to be able to detect a "snaked arrow," that is, one that has concealed itself like a snake in the grass: as to this, it should be observed that in all traditional ways of thinking there is no opposition but rather a coincidence of practical and transcendental reasons for any given procedure; no divorce of physical and metaphysical, profane function and sacred significance. It may also be remarked that it is not only lost arrows that can be thought of as "snakes"; for example, the arrow shot from a bow is a "winged snake" for Aeschylus (*Eumenides* 181), and so also in India arrows become snakes. This, of course, has a good deal to do with the fact that arrows are so often poisoned; the word "toxic," derived from Aristotle's το ξικός ψάρμακον ("venom for smearing arrows") may be noted, and it is even more curious that Greek ἰός means (1) arrow and (2) poison, whereas the Sanskrit cognates are iṣu, ("arrow"), and viṣu ("poison"), the latter word preserving an original elsewhere lost. The Arab work, however, has nothing to say on the subject of poisoned arrows; it mentions fiery arrows (p. 142), and it is interesting in this connection (1) that in the Vedic sources, in which the parts of the arrow are associated with different deities, the point is always identified with Agni, and (2) that the use of incendiary arrows was revived for special purposes in the Pacific area in the second World War. On the subject of "finger-reckoning" I venture to quote from Paul Klopsteg's review published in the *American Bowman-Review* (June, 1945, p. 4), as this source is not very likely to fall into the hands of Islamic scholars:

> The "resurrection of an ancient system of finger-reckoning" which, according to the authors, brings to light material that scholars suspected of having existed, but details of which were completely lost, is another matter of great interest. Kānī seems to have known much about it, for he refers to the "63 draw" and the "30 grip" with the left hand, as well as the "99" arrangement of the fingers which more strongly suggests the hold with the left. In *Der Islam,* X (1920), pp. 87–119, Ruska, in an article "Arabische Texte über das Fingerrechnen," describes precisely the single-hand representations of the units and tens so well depicted in *Arab Archery,* and describes how the hundreds and thousands are represented with the left hand just as the tens and units, respectively, are formed with the right. Ruska also mentions "63" as the archer's method of drawing the string, and "60" as the arrangement of the fingers similar to that by which the archer grasps the arrow. Ruska gives numerous references to the Arabic publications, some of which are illustrated, most of them appearing in the nineteenth century.

[2] Although according to Hein, in *Der Islam* (XIV, 357, note 1), παλίντονος always implies a reflex bow.

[3] See on this subject my "Symbolism of Archery," *Ars Islamica,* X (1943), 106, note 3. On the general subject of practical efficiency and esoteric practises (yoga) see also E. J. Harrison, "'Spirit Meeting' in Japanese Military Arts," *Aryan Path,* XV (1944), 445–49.

The description (pp. 142–45) of wooden or metal grooved or cylindrical "guides" by means of which two or even as many as ten small arrows can be cast simultaneously makes me wonder whether the Persian word nāwak which occurs in Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Mathnawī* (VI. 4578), where Nicholson's rendering is "blowpipe" [4] may not have been only such a "guide," and not a blowpipe. The subject calls for further investigation.

Finally, in view of the modern revival of archery (witness such publications as *Archery,* now in its seventeenth volume, and *The American Bowman-Review,* now in its fifteenth volume), it may well be asked, what can be the explanation of the enduring interest in archery that is felt in a world in which bows and arrows are no longer necessary means to the preservation of life and where archery has become either a mere sport or, for scholars, a department of the history of culture? Just as in the case of other sports and skills, that is to say, arts, it may be taken for granted that pleasure is naturally taken in the activity itself as well as in the successful making of the weapons themselves, and in the social or sylvan environments in which the skill is exercised. These "pleasures that perfect the operation," however, hardly suffice to account for the whole of the values that inhere in toxicology considered as a body of knowledge. I have dealt with these problems in part in my "Symbolism of Archery" in *Ars Islamica* (Vol. X). A part of the answer pertains to semanitics. The greater part of our figures of speech, for example, the very notion of a "culture," are not of contemporary invention, but derive from a time when the technique of the arts was far more familiar to everyone, and to the philosopher, than is now the case; which is as much as to say that they derive from a time when the concepts of utility and meaning or value had not yet been divorced. These figures of speech that are also figures of thought are the constituents of a common language of discourse, which must be understood if we are to grasp the full intentions of the classical or oriental thinkers who use them and from whom we inherit them, for the most part as clichés employed without much thought. We speak, for example, of "aims," and of "penetration," that is, of understanding as distinguished from mere observation; [5] our words may either "hit the mark" or "fall short" of it. Similarly, in Sanskrit, where arrows often stand for "words," and vedhas, "penetrating" comes from vidh or vyadh, to "pierce"; and, as in the *Muṇḍaka Up.* (II. 2.1-4) the ultimate reality, Brahma is "to be penetrated" (veddhavyam) as a target is pierced by an arrow. Philo remarked of a valid insight that "the mind could not have made so straight an aim" (σκόπως εὐθυβόλησειν) without the guidance of the Spirit (*Moses* II. 265); and this reminds us of Plato's connection of βουλή ("intention" or "aim") with βολή ("shooting") and of "opinion" with δίωξις ("pursuit") or τόξον ("bow")—*Cratylus* (420 C.D) as well as of our word "hyperbole," overshooting the mark. These hermeneutic, and perhaps also actually etymological connections of Greek βούλομαι, Lat. *volo* and English "will" with * βολέω, βάλλω, "shoot," or again of Sanskrit vaś with ἑκών, "willing" and perhaps ἕκατος ("far-shooting"), compare ἑκατηβόλος, epithet of Apollo as regards his arrows, and of Homer and Hesiod as regards their words, are of far-reaching metaphysical significance, as are also the various senses, erotic and other, of our word "shoot."

Furthermore, in view of the present use of archery as a therapeutic agency in the case of invalided war veterans [6] it may well be asked

[4] Cf. my "Blowpipe in India and Persia," *Amer. Anthropol.,* 45 (1943), 331.

[5] On "penetration" cf. Wilbur Urban, *The Intelligible World* (New York, 1929), pp. 182, 183.

[6] Cf. A. C. Gigler, "Archery's Part in the Convalescent Program," *Archery,* September, 1945.

whether the therapeutic use of archery as a purely physical exercise might not be enhanced by an explanation of its symbolic values (of which I gave some account in the "Symbolism of Archery"), whether, in fact, the psychiatrist might find in these values a means of restoring the minds as well as the bodies of invalided men.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

IN MEMORIAM: PAUL PELLIOT

Les études sinologiques ont été cruellement éprouvées, durant cette dernière guerre, par les disparitions successives de Marcel Granet, de Henri Maspero et de Paul Pelliot, mais la mort de se dernier, survenue le 27 octobre 1945, met au vrai en deuil l'orientalisme tout entier: les islamisants eux-mêmes perdent en lui non pas seulement un confrère, mais un très proche compagnon de travail, et presque l'un des leurs.

Dès les débuts de sa carrière scientifique Paul Pelliot s'était tourné avec un intérêt marqué vers les religions étrangères, issues du Proche-Orient, qui avaient pénétré en Chine: mazdéisme, manichéisme, christianisme nestorien. Quelques années plus tard, les résultats sensationnels de ses expéditions en Haute-Asie l'obligeaient, eux aussi, à déborder le cadre des civilisations de l'Extrême-Orient pour consacrer également son attention au monde iranien, aux peuples de l'Asie septentrionale, à l'Inde: c'est ainsi que, devenu professeur au Collège de France en 1911, il consacrait sa leçon inaugurale aux influences iraniennes en Asie Centrale et en Extrême-Orient. Sinologue de vocation, P. Pelliot s'est trouvé, du fait de ses curiosités personnelles comme du fait des circonstances de sa carrière scientifique, appelé à étendre à l'Asie entière le domaine de son activité. Champ de recherches immense, qu'il put néanmoins dominer, et de très haut, servi par un esprit clair, logique et pénétrant, par sa mémoire exceptionnelle, par l'étendue et la variété extraordinaires de ses connaissances, par sa puissance de travail, par son enthousiasme: tous ceux qui l'ont vu, depuis 1935, présider les séances de la Société Asiatique gardent le souvenir de l'étonnante maîtrise avec laquelle il intervenait dans les questions en apparence les plus éloignées de ses propres travaux, trouvant sans peine les mots justes pour souligner la portée d'une découverte ou l'originalité d'une interprétation, élever une objection, verser au débat un document ou un argument négligés.

En Asie Centrale comme en Chine, P. Pelliot a trouvé l'Islam sur son chemin: loin de le dédaigner, il lui a aussi consacré son attention; il est même significatif que dès les débuts de sa mission en Haute-Asie il se soit occupé de décrire une petite société musulmane de la région (*Les Abdal de Painap,* dans *Journal asiatique,* Xème série, t. 9, 1907, 115). Peu après, dans son article sur *Les Plus anciens monuments de l'écriture arabe en Chine* (*ibid.,* XIème sér., t. 2, 1913, 177), dont lui avait donné l'occasion un document manuscrit écrit en 1217 à Ts'iuan-tcheou, la Zaytūn des Arabes—quelques vers persans: sans doute un échantillon d'écriture établi sur la demande d'un Chinois—il apporta des indications précieuses sur l'histoire de la pénétration de l'Islam en Extrême-Orient. L'étude de *La Théorie des quatre fils du ciel* (dans *T'oung-Pao,* t. XXII, 1923, 116) lui fit retrouver la même tradition reproduite, avec quelques variantes explicables, dans des textes chinois et des textes arabes qui l'ont peut-être, les uns et les autres, empruntée à l'Inde. Exploitant des sources chinoises, il nous a révélé la présence à Kouſa, au début de l'époque abbasside, de prisonniers de guerre chinois tisserands en soie, orfèvres et peintres: indication importante dont les historiens de l'art musulman n'ont pas encore tiré les conséquences (v. *Des artisans chinois à la capitale abbasside en 751–762,* dans *T'oung-Pao,* t. XXVI, 1928, 110). Et dans les comptes rendus, si nombreux et si fouillés, dont il a enrichi la revue *T'oung-Pao* et qui constituent une part considérable de son oeuvre, il n'a pas manqué de faire bénéficier de son érudition et de son sens critique des travaux d'islamisants utilisables pour les historiens de l'Asie: *Le Voyage du marchand arabe Sulayman . . .,* par G. Ferrand (*T'oung-Pao,* t. XXI, 1922, 399),

l'*Annuaire du monde musulman,* par L. Massignon (*ibid.,* t. XXV, 1928, 450), le *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion,* par W. Barthold (*ibid.,* t. XXVII, 1930, 12–56).

Mais c'est l'étude des Mongols, envahisseurs du monde musulman et eux-mêmes partiellement islamisés, étude à laquelle il se consacra avec prédilection depuis son entrée au Collège de France, qui constitue le véritable trait d'union entre les recherches de P. Pelliot et notre domaine. Ceux qui voudront suivre le cheminement de l'Islam vers l'Est dont s'accompagne cette période ne pourront ignorer sa notice sur *Une Ville musulmane dans la Chine du Nord sous les Mongols* (*Journal asiatique,* 1927, II, 261), le mémoire impeccable et pénétrant dans lequel, à propos d'une lettre de Güyük à Innocent IV retrouvée au Vatican, il élucide les rapports entre *Les Mongols et la papauté* (*Revue de l'orient chrétien,* 3ème sér., t. III, 1922–23, 3–30; t. IV, 1924, 225–335; t. VIII, 1931–32, 3–84), ses notes critiques sur l'ouvrage de B. Spuler, *Die goldene Horde,* rédigées dans les derniers mois de sa vie, en parfaite maîtrise du sujet (*Orientalistische Litteraturzeitung,* 1944, 14–21): travaux qui ne représentent toutefois qu'un appoint en regard de tous les inédits qu'il a laissés et qu'on espère voir publier prochainement: *Un Vocabulaire arabo-mongol et un vocabulaire sino-mongol du XIVème siècle;* la restitution, accompagnée d'une traduction française, de l'*Histoire secréte des Mongols;* enfin, et surtout, son admirable commentaire du texte de Marco Polo, qui épuise la question pour bien des années.

La caractéristique majeure de toutes ces publications, comme de son énorme production sur l'Extrême-Orient,[1] est qu'elles représentent autant de conquêtes sur l'inconnu. Paul Pelliot savait trop de choses, voyait trop loin et trop large, pour être porté vers les travaux de synthèse: il lui fallait sans cesse pousser de l'avant, défricher, poser et se poser des questions nouvelles. Ses comptes rendus eux-mêmes sont autant d'apports positifs: jamais une théorie ou une interprétation n'y sont condamnées sans que la perspective juste soit aussitôt rétablie, avec preuves à l'appui. Car jamais il ne s'est départi de la plus entière probité scientifique: sûreté infailliable de la documentation, rigueur critique, logique du raisonnement sont parmi les mérites les plus clairs de ses oeuvres, grâce à quoi elles méritent d'être prises comme modèle. Et l'homme n'était pas moins digne d'estime que le savant: son courage, sa droiture, son dévouement, son intransigeance sur certains principes moraux étaient à la mesure de ses qualités scientifiques et achevaient de faire de lui un de ces hommes qui sont l'honneur de l'humanité.

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[1] V. Les listes provisoires données dans la brochure *Paul Pelliot,* éditée par la Société asiatique (Paris, 1946).

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